THE Freeman

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

JANUARY 1968

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Anyone wishing to communicate with authors may send first-class mail in care of THE FREEMAN for forwarding.

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THE Freeman
A MONTHLY JOURNAL OF IDEAS ON LIBERTY

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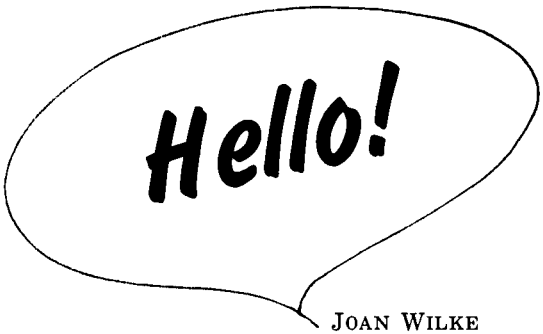

JOAN WILKE

IF YOU'RE FAMILIAR with English detective stories, you know that "hello" is much more than a salutation. It's a surprise!

It's what every good English detective says when he stumbles upon a previously overlooked, wonderful, important, delightful little clue that is sure to unravel the whole mystery.

That's why "hello" is such a fine greeting – whether to a stranger or an old friend. It's the expectation of discovery. The anticipation of some new and wonderful revelation . . . or some new meaning in something long familiar.

Freedom is the only philosophy that treats life realistically – as a mystery that will unravel surprise by surprise.

Only freedom can accommodate the day-to-day surprises that arise from truth and error, wisdom and folly, the simple and complex, the limited and limitless.

It allows for disappointments and failures as well as success.

Everyone benefits freely (and willingly!) from success when it happens, but no one is forced to share another's failure unless all futures are bound up through a collective. So freedom magnifies and spreads success and minimizes and confines failure. Collectivism does just the opposite.

Freedom offers no pat answers to pat problems because it always anticipates some new discovery or variation.

Collectivism proudly asserts it has the answers, and concretizes them into laws, thereby perpetuating the old and obstructing the new.

Freedom treats life as a process, not a thing. A continuous happening, not something that happened. So it is an invitation to life,

Miss Wilke is an advertising writer.

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not an encroachment on it. It is a beckoning, not a coercive force. It recognizes life as a series of beginnings.

All forms of materialistic collectivism treat life as though it's over, in the sense that it is predictable. It is so preoccupied with the present that it rejects the past and considers the future a projection of the present.

It worships "change" but, being oriented to the current situation, considers change simply a rearrangement of existing conditions, intellectually contrived and politically manipulated. It never anticipates real change . . . only repetition of existing conditions.

In limiting life to its own predictions, it necessarily brings about the conditions it predicted, since life only repeats itself when restricted.

Freedom recognizes that life's secrets already exist and lie undiscovered, waiting to be stumbled upon in a series of delighted "hellos." Collectivism drearily limits itself to the idea that what is discovered is what exists, so it mechanically distributes the accumulated surprises of the past without allowing for the continuing surprise of new discovery.

Freedom is nourished by expectation.

Collectivism cannot survive without fears . . . real or imaginary . . . grouped together and therefore exchanged and exaggerated in such hand-holding gatherings as unions and pressure groups or any combination formed for the force that will allay its fears.

The future is determined largely by the choice individuals make between expecting the best or the worst.

Whereas fear paralyzes, expectation energizes.

The most remarkable person I know . . . and the freest . . . always seems to have this air of anticipation about him. When he comes through a door or around a corner, he has the manner of one who has heard a firecracker go off and has come to see what the celebration is all about. He's in a state of perpetual "hello!" With his attitude, I doubt that he's ever disappointed, because he would see the most ordinary thing with extraordinary delight.

His attitude strikes me as that which is most appropriate for a free man. ◈

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Commitment Concern and Apathy

W. ALLEN WALLIS

ONE of the special privileges of a university president is the opportunity to hear, or to hear about, a large number of speeches on academic subjects or directed to academic audiences.

Sometimes a group of things has a pattern that is not revealed by any one of the things alone. Thus, an animated sign in Times Square may be interesting or informative in ways that would never be suspected by watching just a single one of its bulbs blinking on and off. So also with speeches. A group of speeches on similar occasions (perhaps award dinners), or a group of speeches by similar speakers (university presidents, for example), or a group of speeches to similar audiences (businessmen, possibly), may be far more illuminating than any one speech alone.

Allen Wallis is President of the University of Rochester. This article is from his address of September 21, 1967, before the National Conference of Christians and Jews in New York City.

An illustration: About a decade ago, I read accounts of nearly a hundred commencement speeches given that June. They were given in different parts of the country by different kinds of speakers at different kinds of institutions. Through all this diversity that is one of the glories of American higher education ran one binding thread to which even the most individualistic commencement speakers conformed. Every speaker advised the graduates to be nonconformists. Some came close to recommending that the Federal government establish standards of nonconformity, and that conformity to those standards be enforced by the Bureau of Standards or even by a new Bureau of Nonstandards.

Had I not surveyed the whole set of speeches, I would not have realized what a group of conformists — parrots, almost — those commencement speakers were. To

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conform to his own advice to be a nonconformist, a speaker would have had to urge the graduates to be conformists.

Mischievous Madness

Last spring I noticed an interesting similarity among a good many commencement addresses, though I did not document it statistically. Many speakers made the point that the students who have disrupted or attempted to disrupt universities or have focussed attention on themselves off-campus are only a tiny fraction – under 5 per cent – of all students.

Often this point was accompanied by criticism of the press for giving disproportionate attention to the tiny minority – an interesting approach to journalism, which seems to imply that on the day of a spectacular airplane crash those who were safely on other planes, or not flying at all, should get almost all the space in the newspapers.

One or two speeches that I heard or read last spring did make the valid point about news coverage that most of the student events reported had no independent existence in the real world but were only what Daniel Boorstin has called "pseudo-events." That is, the events came about only because "someone planned, planted, or incited" them "for the immediate purpose of being reported or reproduced," arranging them "for the convenience of the reporting or reproducing media" and measuring their success by how widely they were reported. As President Perkins of Cornell put it, "our communications systems . . . are sometimes inclined to forget the distinction between distributing news and manufacturing it."

Having pointed out that the disorderly students are a negligible minority to whom the journalists give too much attention, last spring's typical commencement speaker proceeded to devote most of his talk to those same students. There was variety in the explanations, evaluations, and prognostications offered by the speakers. Nearly every speaker, however, made an assertion to the effect that when all is said and done, it is a fine, noble, inspiring thing that today's young people are "concerned" and "committed," not "apathetic" like earlier generations of students.

I have no doubt that you have all heard this assertion. In fact, I have little doubt that many of you have asserted it yourselves. Even if you have not heard it applied to students, surely you have heard it applied to ministers.

I disagree with that assertion. In fact – to quote from a source

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particularly appropriate at this National Conference of Christians and Jews, namely the book of the Old Testament called *Ecclesiastes*, the thirteenth verse of the tenth chapter – this "talk is mischievous madness." I intend to devote the rest of my time with you this evening to explaining why I disagree.

Minor and Major Objections

First, I will dismiss a couple of objections that, while valid, do not seem to me weighty. The first objection is that the assertion is patronizing and belittling. (This is even more true when it is applied to ministers than when it is applied to students.) It is the kind of statement one makes about a child who, being unable to steer his bicycle or even to balance it, destroys a flower bed, knocks down an old lady carrying a bag of eggs, and skins his own knees and elbows. "Isn't the little tyke cute! He means so well and tries so hard. How admirable that the small fellow is so concerned about his bicycle – so committed to it, too!"

The second insubstantial objection is that it is at best grasping at straws to base hope for a whole generation on a group which is conceded to be a negligible fraction of that generation.

My more serious objection to claiming that today's activist students and ministers are concerned and committed, rather than apathetic, is summarized in two lines of a poem by Thomas Hood:

> Evil is wrought by want of Thought
> As well as want of Heart.

The problems about which the activist students and ministers believe themselves to be concerned and committed are war, poverty, injustice, and limitations of freedom. These are problems about which others have been and are concerned, to the amelioration of which others have been and are committed. No sure paths to universal peace, prosperity, justice, and freedom have been discovered. But a large amount of information, analysis, experience, and wisdom about these problems has been accumulated and recorded through the ages.

Rush Rhees Library, on the George Eastman Quadrangle at the University of Rochester, bears on either side of its main portals two inscriptions from which generations of students have drawn inspiration. The inscription to the left of the library doors reads:

> Here is the history of human ignorance, error, superstition, folly, war, and waste, recorded by human intelligence for the admonition of wiser ages still to come.

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The other inscription reads:

Here is the history of man's hunger for truth, goodness, and beauty, leading him slowly on through flesh to spirit, from bondage to freedom, from war to peace.

Inside that library, as inside thousands of libraries all over America, much can be learned about ignorance, error, superstition, folly, war, and waste; and much can be learned about truth, goodness, beauty, the human spirit, freedom, and peace.

There are, to be sure, important things that cannot be learned in libraries, or elsewhere in universities. Some of them can be learned only on battlefields, in hospitals, in slums, in artists' studios, in factories, banks, and stores, or from the experience of life itself; and some important truths cannot be grasped at all in youth. But in our libraries and elsewhere in our colleges and universities much knowledge and wisdom can be acquired that is not likely to be acquired elsewhere.

Problems Merit More Study

War, poverty, injustice, and limitations of freedom are enormously complex problems. Yet the history of the past decade, the past generation, the past century, and longer shows that progress has occurred on all these problems — not uninterrupted progress, perhaps; not sufficient progress, surely; but enough progress over long enough periods to demonstrate that it can happen.

That social change can occur is far more obvious than that man can bring about social change, or guide it in desirable directions. There is a great chasm, often overlooked, between demonstrating that things can change and demonstrating that things can be changed. The weather is a good example; we all know it can change, but we all know that so far it cannot be changed. Even if it were proved that things can be changed, we would be a long way from proving that we can change things in desirable ways, or even that we can specify what changes would be desirable.

But we are not totally ignorant and helpless: The social sciences, especially economics, do contain bodies of tested knowledge that are substantial, even though inadequate for what we would like to accomplish. There is much to be learned from the social and behavioral sciences, from history, and from philosophy that will enhance the effectiveness of anyone concerned about social problems and committed to their amelioration. Certainly there is far more to be learned than can be assimilated in the four years of college.

A person truly concerned about

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social problems and committed to improving society would, if he were so fortunate as to attend college, devote all his time and all his energy during those years to utilizing the college's academic resources – preparing himself to make his most effective contribution. José Ortega has made the point in these words:

> It is easy to say and even to think that you are resolved upon something; but it is extremely difficult to be resolved in the true sense.
>
> For this means resolving upon all the things which are necessary as intermediate steps; it means, for one thing, providing [y]ourselves with the qualities that are requisite for the undertaking. Anything short of this is no real resolution, it is simply wishing. . . . It is not so easy to maintain that sort of fire which is both critical and creative, that incandescence so supplied with thermal energy that it will not be cooled when the two coldest things in the world come to lodge within it: cool logic and an iron will. The vulgar, false, impotent sort of passion shrinks in terror from the proximity of reflective thought, for it senses that at such a chilly contact it will be frozen out of existence . . . High creative passion . . . is fire supported with the constancy of clear understanding and a calm will.

What passes for commitment and concern too often is simply ignorance and arrogance, aggravated by apathy. Student activists have opportunities to study and to learn, yet they are too apathetic toward their responsibilities to humanity to make the personal effort and sacrifice necessary to take full advantage of their opportunities. Their contribution to social problems too often will be like the contribution of those who cared for George Washington in his final illness, and are said to have bled him to death with leeches.

An illustration of an important failure to understand social phenomena is found in the explanations widely given for the current turmoil among a few of our Negro fellow-citizens. A common explanation is that it is due to desperation at their sad circumstances. Often it is even implied that their circumstances are worsening. In fact, of course, their circumstances have been improving for a quarter of a century at a rate which no one but a wishful-thinker would have ventured to predict 25 years ago.

Furthermore, improvement is a more likely cause of such turmoil than is desperation. On this point, Eric Hoffer wrote more than 15 years ago:

> Discontent is likely to be highest when misery is bearable; when conditions have so improved that an ideal state seems almost within

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reach. A grievance is most poignant when almost redressed. De Tocqueville in his researches into the state of society in France before the revolution was struck by the discovery that "in no one of the periods which have followed the Revolution of 1789 has the national prosperity of France augmented more rapidly than it did in the twenty years preceding that event." He is forced to conclude that "the French found their position the more intolerable the better it became.". . . It is not actual suffering but the taste of better things which excites people to revolt.

I trust that it is not necessary for me to point out that I am not suggesting that Negroes are sufficiently well-off, or that nothing should be done for them, any more than a physician who asserts that a diagnosis is incorrect needs to point out that he admits the patient's illness and favors treating it if there is a suitable treatment. An erroneous diagnosis, in social as in medical matters, can lead to treatment that is worse than useless.

Legislated Unemployment

An example of the evil that "can be wrought by want of thought" is the minimum wage law, which is as anti-Negro in its effects as its advocates are pro-Negro in their intentions. Very few workers in the United States are affected by our minimum wage laws. A disproportionately large number of the few who are affected are Negroes. Some of the Negroes who are affected are receiving higher wages than they otherwise would. Many, however, are unemployed because of the minimum wage laws.

Among the effects of minimum wage laws that are harmful to Negroes is a tendency to induce an artificial degree of automation, thereby transferring employment from, for example, low-paid elevator operators to the high-paid engineers and craftsmen who make, install, and maintain automatic elevators. In some cases, minimum wages force up product prices, inducing consumers to shift some of their purchasing away from those products, thereby reducing employment. As a matter of fact, some economists have pointed out that properly designed maximum limits to wages would be more helpful to Negroes than minima, because maxima could induce whites to leave the regulated employment.

Even those who support minimum wage laws in a mistaken belief that they help the poor seem to have a vague, uneasy feeling that their argument has limitations. Otherwise, why do they not urge a minimum wage of, say, $3 per hour? Surely they cannot be-

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lieve that at $1.50 per hour—about $3,000 per year—a man could support a family of even average size in New York City, or that $6,000 per year would lead to decadent luxury. Perhaps they sense that at a $3 minimum too many incomes would be not $6,000 but zero.

Self-Interest Serves Others, Too

Economists who have studied discrimination have concluded generally that the greater the degree to which an economy is governed by pecuniary motives alone, the better off will be those who are discriminated against. Armen Alchian and Reuben Kessel conclude that "strong, unrestrained profit incentives serve the interests of the relatively unpopular, unorthodox, and individualistic members of society," and they remark that there is "an inconsistency in the views of those who argue that profit incentives bring out the worst in people and at the same time believe that discrimination in terms of race, creed, or color is socially undesirable."

Many will find this conclusion so repugnant that they will simply refuse to think about it enough to risk finding truth in it. To those who are curious about the analysis, I will offer a hint.

People's motives are both pecuniary and nonpecuniary. Pecuniary motives are satisfied in a simple way, by money, and money is all alike. Nonpecuniary motives include what we call taste and preference when we approve, or discrimination and prejudice when we disapprove. A man who is not motivated by purely pecuniary considerations may hire a beautiful secretary instead of an ugly one who is an equally good worker and gets the same wage. That would show taste. He may also hire a white secretary instead of a Negro who is her equal. That would show discrimination.

To the extent that the employer is susceptible to pecuniary considerations, the nonpreferred worker can tempt him by a lower wage rate, or by greater efficiency, and thus gain employment. Then the employer finds his unit costs lower than his competitors'. Being now in a position to increase his total profit by tempting customers away from his competitors by offering the customers a share of the saving in unit costs, and being a man governed by pecuniary motives, he does so. With the increased business, he employs more people, naturally looking to the nonpreferred group for them.

Unfortunately for this first employer of the nonpreferred workers, but fortunately for them, the other employers eventually find that they must hire nonpreferred

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workers or see their businesses wither away. The resulting competition from other employers bids up the wages of the nonpreferred, and eventually the first employer no longer has an advantage. When things settle down in the industry, the nonpreferred group will have more jobs and higher wages; the consumers will be paying no more and perhaps a little less; and the employers' profits will be about the same as before, though they will have suffered temporary financial penalties to the extent that they delayed in hiring the nonpreferred.

The other employers do, however, have a way to protect themselves against the first employer's starting all this. They can get a law passed setting a minimum wage, so that the nonpreferred workers are not allowed to offer the first employer a pecuniary incentive to hire them. In that case, the first employer will be guided by nonpecuniary considerations in deciding which workers to hire. He might still hire the nonpreferred, motivated by charity, tolerance, or his opinions about social welfare; but if it were usual for people to behave that way, the whole problem of discrimination would not have come up.

At any rate, anyone committed and concerned about the welfare of minority groups is exceedingly irresponsible if he is not thoroughly familiar with this kind of analysis, and with much, much more. Otherwise, with the best of intentions, he is likely to find himself in the same category as those who applied leeches to George Washington. Having miscalculated the effect of the minimum wage laws, he will advocate them in good faith. Then when he sees the Negro unemployment that results, he will diagnose its cause incorrectly, and quite probably advocate remedies for it that cause still further harm.

The Role of Education

Universities constitute our greatest resource in the age-long struggle for peace, prosperity, justice, and freedom. Their proper and effective use is in accumulating knowledge and wisdom and passing it on. Those who are truly concerned about their fellow man, and truly committed to reforming society, will devote their years in college to study and reflection, just as the budding physician devotes his time in medical school to study instead of to answering ambulance calls.

A business executive cannot cope with the problems of his company with anything less than the best and most advanced education, nor without years of apprenticeship and constant re-ed-

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ucation and study. A physicist cannot make contributions that are meaningful and worthwhile without prolonged dedication to research, study, and training at the highest levels of current knowledge. It takes eight to ten years of education before the medical internist is prepared to open his own office.

Yet, the problems of business, the mysteries of the nucleus, and the ailments of the body are simple when compared to the problems of war, poverty, injustice, and limitations of freedom.

If there are to be activists and others who purport to have answers to social problems, let them spend at least as much time and effort in learning what man already knows and has already tried as do those who would be executives or physicists or physicians.

The activists are the students who are truly apathetic. It is among the students so often called apathetic that we find those who are truly concerned and truly committed. It is to this great majority of truly concerned and truly committed students, of whom the public rarely hears during their college years – unquestionably the finest people (as well as the brainiest) that we have ever had in our colleges – that we may confidently look for future leaders who have, in Ortega's words, "high creative passion . . . with the constancy of clear understanding and a calm will." ◈

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Pseudo Puppeteers

LEONARD E. READ

WE THINK of a puppeteer as an unseen person who manipulates and sometimes supplies voices for small figures of people or animals on a miniature stage.

Puppetry goes back to at least 500 B.C. The art, often highly developed, has occupied and entertained millions of people all over this earth.

A first-rate puppeteer excites our admiration. His is a singular skill made manifest through small, *inanimate,* man-created characters. The uniqueness portrayed by the small figures is transmitted to them by the God-created character, the puppeteer. And we marvel at what is seen and heard precisely as we stand in awe of inanimate paint and canvas given form and beauty by a God-created Raphael.

Unworthy of admiration are the pseudo puppeteers, among us by the millions. These persons, for the most part, have no demonstrated competency to give form and beauty even to inanimate objects. Yet, undaunted, they proceed to impose their notions of form and beauty on other human beings. They dangle and pull the strings, not of inanimate little figures, but of living individuals. And they'll throw in the dialogue at no extra charge!

Pseudo puppeteering is easy to identify but to refer to a person as a pseudo puppeteer may be the truth one day and a falsehood the next. The explanation for this variation is that pseudo puppeteering is *the will to power over others,* an urge that rises and falls. On occasion an individual's will

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to power lies dormant; at times it rages. In some persons it rages most of the time; in others it rarely flares up. But none of us seems to be wholly immune to the urge, convinced as we are of our own goodness: "Why can't you be like me?" Unfortunately, there is a bit of the pseudo puppeteer in everyone who cares at all about what goes on around him.

Ruled by Inferiors

My hypothesis is that this tendency or nagging proclivity—the will to power over others – in whomever it shows forth, is no more than an unconscious, nonrational assertion of ignorance or, to be more charitable, a blindness as to the nature of a human being, regardless of how lowly his position on life's totem pole. In brief, I am suggesting that those who would pull the strings of other human beings are—by virtue of this fact alone, if for no other—mentally and morally unfitted to the task. The pseudo puppeteer, when putting on his act, is intellectually inferior, not superior, to his human puppets.

"Do you mean to suggest, Mr. Read, that the head of state or his appointees, when dictating wages, hours, rents, prices, and other terms and conditions relating to the peaceful and nondestructive aspects of ownership and trade, are inferior intellectually to those who are the objects of this regimentation?[1]

"Just a minute, Sir! Are you claiming that a wealthy plantation owner, when dictating the activities of his slaves, was manifesting a greater blindness than theirs? That the same can be said of the great Plato and his slaves? That Stalin, when relegating a Muscovite to dishwashing, regardless of how lowly that fellow may have been, was nonetheless his inferior?

"Why, if your hypothesis is valid, the business leader who serves on the Board of the local chamber of commerce and votes for the hometown plaza at the expense of taxpayers all over the nation is displaying an ignorance greater than the millions whose pittances gratify his wishes. This would even be true of the clergyman who preaches or the academician who teaches this doctrine. You can't possibly mean all of this!"

Incredible as it seems, this is precisely what I mean!

Such charges cannot be leveled against the true puppeteer, the one who controls man-created, inanimate objects. His ignorance could not possibly match that of his wholly unintelligent and life-

[1] Livelihood is an extension of life. The control of another's livelihood is thus the control of another's life.

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less marionettes. But it is possible for the greatest intellect ever born to have a blind spot, an area of ignorance more pronounced than to be found in a slave.

Think about this pseudo puppeteer. Regardless of how great his attainments relative to the rest of us, he really knows next to nothing. This is especially true if he is unaware of how little he knows. No living person has more than a superficial knowledge of himself; he knows even less about his intimate acquaintances; and still less about those he does not know.

Each Man's Emergence Depends Upon Himself

Consider next the individual, any one of the several billion human beings who, in one way or another, dangles as a marionette to the pleasure of the pseudo puppeteers.

While all of us, in varying degrees, are victims of puppeteering, let us not pose a Socrates or some other brilliant notable in the role of puppet; that would make it too easy to prove the inferiority of the puppeteer. Instead, let us take someone far down the scale in our rating systems, a Negro slave, for instance—no schooling, unable to read or write or even to talk intelligibly. My claim is that any puppeteer, when performing his act, is inferior even to this lowly fellow.

This slave is a human being! He is neither inanimate nor animal. Examined physically, genetically, chemically, atomistically, there is nothing to distinguish him from Booker T. Washington. Or from your own ancestors a short while ago. Doubtless, his brain is as large as yours and has as many nerve cells.

I am only trying to establish the point that this slave is as much a human being as you or I; like us, he is endowed with unrealized potentialities. To say that his potentialities have not as yet been realized to the same degree as yours and mine and, therefore, he would be better off were he our puppet, is to assume not only that we have it made but, far worse, that there is no such thing as human progress, emergence, evolution.

The realization of potentialities is man's purpose; this is human destiny. And the human being, as complex in one stage of development as another, can grow, emerge, "hatch," only as he is free to do so. The developmental forces and mechanisms—the soul, psyche, call the generative processes what you will—are within him, and *his germinal forces are not to be found in any other person.* It is stressing the obvious to insist that I cannot manage these forces

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in you, for you are unique, extraordinary, and unlike me in every respect.[2] This claim can safely be generalized.

I am not the Creator. Failing to realize that no one of us can mastermind the creative release and growth of another is an utter blindness. And no matter how slight the intellectual attainments of the manipulated human being, the ignorance of the pseudo puppeteer, when puppeteering, is greater than that of the puppet. The puppet, no matter how dim his glimmer, sees more than can a blind puppeteer.

Is there any remedy for man imposing his will by force on other men? Can we curb this puppeteer-puppet relationship?

Pseudo puppeteering might diminish with a realization that it is nothing more than an assertion of ignorance. This is a shunned, not a sought-after, category.

Resistance to puppeteering might increase with the realization that most of us are being used as puppets. What self-respecting person wants to be someone else's marionette?

And the whole nonsensical relationship would evaporate were enough of us (1) to evaluate properly the uniqueness of the individual, (2) to understand that the germinal forces for individual growth are exclusively self-possessed, and (3) to appreciate that these forces can do their work only when free to function, not when on either end of a string or a chain.

Whenever any of us feel the puppeteering urge coming on, we should heed the counsel, "Mind your own business." And whenever we sense that others are using us as puppets, we should make it plain that we are not of the slave mentality by simply demonstrating that we can think and speak for ourselves. ◈

[2] See *You Are Extraordinary* by Roger J. Williams (New York: Random House, Inc., 1967).

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John Quincy Adams

1767-1848

ROBERT M. THORNTON

IN 1831 John Quincy Adams, age 64, was elected to the House of Representative from his district in Massachusetts. His lifelong political motto—never to seek office and never to refuse one—explains his willingness to serve the public in this relatively minor position for a man who had been a U. S. Senator, Minister in The Netherlands, Berlin, St. Petersburg, and London, Secretary of State in the Administration of James Monroe, and President of the United States, 1825-1829. But he made it perfectly clear to his constituents that he would be his own man in Washington, not a mere errand boy or mouthpiece for any party or section. This, evidently, was good enough for the farmers of Plymouth, because Adams was reelected every term until his death in office in 1848.

The independent stand of John Quincy Adams contrasts sharply with the promises of many of today's candidates and officeholders to be guided almost exclusively by the majority—or the strong and vocal minority that gives the impression of being a majority. The

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politician of today is concerned not with doing what he believes is right but with doing what the majority of those who elected him want him to do, be it right or wrong. Consequently, he devotes much of his time to nose-counting instead of hard thinking and prayerful meditation.

The most successful political leaders of the future will not necessarily be men of intelligence, wisdom, experience, knowledge, honor, character, and integrity. Rather, they will be the men—or women—with the most sophisticated polling and computing system; the man, that is, who before committing himself on any question, can quickly and accurately determine the majority opinion among his constituents. There is no room in such a situation for a John Quincy Adams with his broad experience, wide learning, and strong character. In fact, the situation calls for no man at all, least of all a man of integrity; a machine can "count noses."

When comparing the politicians of today with John Quincy Adams, we must recognize the idea implicit in each position. The political leaders in our time believe, or in return for votes pretend to believe, the voice of the people is the voice of God—*vox populi, vox dei.* Men like John Quincy Adams, on the other hand, do not believe such nonsense. Nor do they believe that any party or nation has a monopoly on the truth. Truth is not found by the expedient of counting noses. Very often the majority can be dead wrong; it is a few wise individuals—the *natural* aristocracy – who lead them on the right path away from disaster. We need men in office like John Quincy Adams who believe their duty is always to seek what is right, whose allegiance is not to a party or section or nation but to the Truth. ◈

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Essential Justice

FOR THERE is but one essential justice which cements society, and one law which establishes this justice. This law is right reason, which is the true rule of all commandments and prohibitions. Whoever neglects this law, whether written or unwritten, is necessarily unjust and wicked.

CICERO, *De Legibus*

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LIBERTY AND PROPERTY
ONE AND INSEPARABLE

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

TWO FAMILIAR left-wing clichés that are too often allowed to pass unexamined and unrefuted are that freedom under capitalism is freedom to starve and that human rights are superior to property rights. The implications are that people are most likely to go hungry under a system of free enterprise and private ownership and that there is a basic antagonism between human rights and property rights. Both assumptions are completely false and misleading.

Where have the great famines of the twentieth century occurred? There have been two in the Soviet Union, each costing millions of human lives, in 1921-22 and in 1932-33. Capitalism obviously cannot be blamed for either of these. The first was the product of a number of causes, drought, transportation breakdowns after years of fierce civil war, and last, but by no means least, the Soviet system of so-called war communism. Under this system the value of money was virtually abolished; the government requisitioned all the peasants' "surplus" produce and, in theory, gave him what he needed in clothing, machinery, and manufactured goods. But this theory was seldom translated into fact; what actually happened was that armed requisitioning bands scoured the villages, confiscating any food stocks they found and giving nothing in return. Under these circumstances there was an understandable unwillingness of the peasant to raise more than he required for his own subsistence.

At least the Soviet Government admitted the fact of this famine and welcomed foreign aid from the American Relief Agency, head-

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ed by Herbert Hoover, and various foreign religious and charitable organizations. Its responsibility for the second great famine, in 1932-33, is far more unmistakable and undivided. This famine, which devastated what are normally the most fertile areas of European Russia, the Ukraine, and the North Caucasus, was primarily political in character.

Stalin was bringing all possible pressure to force the peasants to give up their individual holdings and accept regimentation in so-called collective farms, where they were completely under state control as regards what they should plant, how much they must surrender to the government, what prices they should receive. Weather conditions had been unfavorable and the peasants' will to produce had been paralyzed. Yields were naturally low and I still recall, from a trip in rural areas, the striking number of weeds in the collective farm fields. The Soviet authorities easily could have coped with the food shortage by drawing on reserve stocks or importing food from abroad. Instead, heavy requisitions were imposed and the peasants were left to starve, as several millions of them did. Foreign relief was not permitted; honest reporting of the famine, its background and causes, was not permitted.

Industrial Taj Mahals

Famine has also occurred in recent years in communist China and in India. In India, socialist state planning led to systematic neglect of agriculture in favor of building big new factories, which a prominent Indian economist, B. R. Shenoy, has called "industrial Taj Mahals," out of proportion to the needs and absorption capacities of the country. There can be no serious suggestion that capitalism is responsible for starvation in India. For the disastrous famines that have occurred in the Soviet Union, China, and India there is no parallel in any country with an economy based on private property relations.

There is an intermediate phase between the stark horror of downright famine, with thousands of human beings perishing from lack of food and the diseases that malnutrition always brings, and the contented satisfaction of needs enjoyed by shoppers in an American supermarket. In this phase people are not acutely hungry but are condemned to a drab, unappetizing diet, either because of rationing or because foodstuffs which they may desire are not available in the stores. This is the present situation in Russia and in the communist-ruled areas of Central and Eastern Europe. There has been nothing of the kind in the strong-

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holds of free enterprise and private property, in North America and Western Europe—at least, not since Great Britain got rid of rationing, prolonged by Labor governments after it had been dropped on the continent and finally abolished by the Conservatives in the fifties.

So much for the old wheeze about "freedom to starve" under free enterprise. It is the overwhelming testimony of experience that anyone who wishes to eat as much as he wishes and as wide a variety of foods as he wishes should stay away from communist and socialist states.

Property Rights Are Human Rights

And the supposed antithesis between "human" rights and "property" rights is quite nonexistent. For the right to own property and use it in lawful ways is a very basic human right and when this right disappears, others also swiftly vanish. What are, after all, basic human freedoms? Security against arbitrary arrest, imprisonment, and execution is surely prominent on the list. So is the right, through an uncoerced vote, to exercise some share of control in government decisions. And the right to state one's views, in speech or writing, as an individual or in association with others. And to choose one's form of work and occupation, without external coercion. And to travel freely to foreign countries, and, if one chooses, to quit one's native country for residence in another. And to be secure against having letters opened and telephone conversations reported by snooping government agents. And to give up a job, or to change jobs without let or hindrance. And to publish newspapers and books, operate radio broadcasts, and generally communicate with one's fellows without official censorship.

Call the roll of this list of elementary human rights and liberties and examine how it stands up under various social and economic systems. No form of government or society is perfect; but by and large the above mentioned liberties are pretty well observed in countries where the rights of private property are most scrupulously respected. Most or all are disregarded under any form of dictatorship. But the denial of every one of these human rights is most complete, systematic, and irrevocable under the dictatorships which have gone furthest in abolishing the right to own and utilize private property.

The regimes that are now in power in the Soviet Union, in mainland China, and in Cuba grew out of revolutions that took place under differing circumstances and

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against differing national backgrounds. But all these tyrannies, as also those in East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Yugoslavia, and Albania, have one negative trait in common. They recognize for the individual *no* right which the state may not arbitrarily withhold or deny.

Liberty is the first casualty after the wholesale nationalization and confiscation of property. This rule has been proven so often under so many circumstances in so many countries with such varied backgrounds that there can be no reasonable doubt as to its universal application.

The Communist Purge

Russia fifty years ago was the scene of the most thoroughgoing smashing of property rights ever witnessed. Land, factories, mines, banks, houses, stores, every imaginable form of tangible property, was taken over by the state. Such intangibles as stocks and bonds automatically became worthless, and this was also true as regards the prerevolutionary currency.

And along with this process went the systematic destruction of all the human rights and liberties that had been solemnly affirmed after the overthrow of the czarist regime a few months before. A secret police was set up with unlimited powers of arrest, sentence, and execution. This agency has several times changed its name and has operated sometimes more ruthlessly than at others; but it remains the ultimate sanction of Soviet dictatorship.

Voting became a farce, with only one set of candidates, handpicked by the ruling Communist Party, to vote for. Fifty years after the inauguration of the communist system there is not one organ of opinion in the Soviet Union that is free from state censorship and control. No meetings may be held, no clubs or societies formed, without official approval. To leave the country for travel abroad, a right casually exercised every year by millions of Americans and West Europeans, is for the Soviet citizen a rarely granted privilege. Foreigners resident in Moscow have long become accustomed to receiving letters which have quite obviously been opened. Foreign embassies take every precaution against the constant bugging of conversation within their walls and no Russian in his right mind speaks freely over the telephone.

Forced labor has been a prominent feature of the Soviet system, varying from the barbarous cruelty of concentration camps where millions of men and women were overworked and underfed in the

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Arctic climate of Northern Russia and Northern Siberia, to the milder constraint put upon university graduates in medicine, engineering, and teaching to accept assignment to remote localities for two years after graduation. And this same pattern of recognizing no inherent rights of the citizen, of treating him merely as a tool and chattel of an all-powerful state, has reappeared in China and in Castro's Cuba. During the last decade bitter hostility has developed between the Soviet and Chinese communist regimes. There have been instances of more or less suppressed friction between Moscow and its east European satellites. Fidel Castro as the first totalitarian ruler in Latin America has not operated under the same conditions, human and material, as Lenin, Stalin, and Mao Tse-tung.

And communism takes on differing national colorations, depending on the people on whom it is imposed. All the more significant, therefore, is the universal common trait of every communist regime, in Europe, in Asia, in Latin America. This is the denial of every basic individual liberty for the individual.

Locke: "Life, Liberty, and Property"

When England, after half a century of turmoil, civil war, religious and political persecution and proscriptions, reached its great compromise in the establishment of constitutional monarchy under William III in 1688, the greatest exponent of the new mood was the political scientist and philosopher, John Locke. By nature broad-minded and tolerant, Locke worked out a theoretical scheme well calculated to satisfy a people sick of the excesses of royal despotism, on one side, and of Puritan rule, embodied in Cromwell's personal dictatorship, on the other.

Locke, whose thought influenced the Founding Fathers of the American Republic as much as the leaders of his native England, strongly vindicated the rights of the individual citizen as against the state. For the old-fashioned theory of an anointed king ruling by divine right he substituted the conception of society as a body of individuals living together for mutual convenience and conferring on government only certain limited and specifically defined powers. He emphasized the "natural right of life, liberty, and property," properly regarding all three as closely associated. It was perhaps an accident that the Declaration of Independence did not restate Locke's formula, substituting for property the rather meaningless phrase: "pursuit of

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happiness." Property, in Locke's opinion, is "the great and chief end of men's uniting into commonwealths."

Progress in guarantied individual liberty has marched side by side with assured guaranties of the right of the individual to accumulate and enjoy property. Great principles of ordered liberty were symbolized in John Hampden's resistance to the payment of "ship money," a tax imposed for a phony purpose by the arbitrary power of King Charles I, and in the actions of Hampden's successors, the rebellious colonists, in refusing to pay taxes on stamps and tea levied without American representation by the British Parliament.

It was because men like Hampden were prepared to stand up for their rights (including their property rights) that England until recent times was a lightly taxed country. And, of course, the conflicts over the stamp and tea taxes were the overture to the establishment of the American Republic.

Eternal Vigilance

Freedom in all its forms, including not least economic freedom, must always be defended, although the enemy changes with changing times. Absolute kings and emperors have disappeared into the archives of history and no longer constitute a threat. The principal threat to freedom now is the adoption of measures that in some countries have led and in others might lead to the modern-style demagogic dictatorship, which, in the name of abolishing exploitation, sets up a superstate with unrivaled powers for exploiting its subjects and invariably strikes down every other freedom as a sequel to eliminating economic freedom.

The surest brake on the tendency of government to exceed its proper functions and degenerate into tyranny is a strong propertied middle class. It was the emergence of such a class that sounded the death knell of absolutist monarchs and feudal barons. The destruction of such a class is the invariable first objective of the totalitarian communist revolution that exploits discontent, justified or unjustified, in order to set up a tyranny far worse than anything against which it rebelled.

One may paraphrase a famous oratorical climax of Daniel Webster, himself a stout defender of economic freedom, and sum up as follows the lesson to be drawn from all historical experience, past and present:

Liberty and Property. One and Inseparable. Now and Forever. ◈

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To Be Different —and Free

BEN MOREELL

EACH of us begins life with certain inherited physical, mental, and moral characteristics, some of which are as unique as one's fingerprints. As we grow older, the variations at birth are expanded by differences in environment, education, training, associations, and experiences, and by the influence of our studies, meditations, and such Divine guidance as we are able to invoke. These diversities bring about differences in material possessions and in the status achieved in the professions, the arts, and other areas of human endeavor.

All this is the natural resultant of the law of human variation, a law of such transcendent importance to the progress and well-being of mankind that it must surely be Divinely authored! "The God who gave us life gave us liberty at the same time," Jefferson observed. I would presume to add, "And He made us all different, each one from every other one."

With such a powerful force acting to induce diverse judgments, it is truly remarkable that we can achieve pragmatic working agreement on most of the crucial issues which confront our nation. We do so only as we develop a broad tolerance for the opinions of others, a tolerance essential for arriving at workable solutions which attract the support of public opinion.

Alexander Hamilton advanced this thought in a plea for ratifi-

From remarks by Admiral Moreell among friends gathered on his seventy-fifth birthday, in 1967, "to rejoice in his rich and full years of service to God and Country."

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cation of the Constitution. He wrote, in the first *Federalist Paper*, "So numerous, indeed, and so powerful are the causes which serve to give a false bias to the judgment, that we see . . . wise and good men on the wrong as well as on the right side of questions of the first magnitude to society. This circumstance, if duly attended to, would furnish a lesson of moderation to those who are ever so much persuaded of their being in the right in any controversy."

It is in light of the foregoing that, over the years, I have tried earnestly, but not always with success, to avoid impugning the motives, the patriotism, or the integrity of those with whom I have differed on important questions....

Freedom of Choice Essential to Individual Growth and Development

In order that each person might have full scope for the development and use of his talents, he must have maximum freedom of choice which should be limited only by the requirement that he may not thereby impair the freedoms of any other person. This requires a free market for goods, services, and ideas into which government would intrude only to perform the functions allocated to it specifically by the Constitution.

Under this system, each person may use his dollars as ballots to promote those goods and services which satisfy his wants best. This is the essence of the world's most productive economy, our own free market system, which offers incentives to venture, rewards for success, and penalties for failure, all commensurate with the values delivered to the market place as these are determined by willing buyers and willing sellers.

To deprive a person of his rights is to violate a natural law. This will call forth its own penalties, as does defiance of any natural law, moral or physical. If I jump from a high building, I am defying the law of gravity; and I am penalized. In like manner, when we defy the law of human variation by trying to equalize the social, economic, or cultural status of individuals by resort to the coercive force of government, thus restricting free choice and impeding creative energies, we suffer the penalties.

A corollary is that there is no moral sanction for any man to impair the rights of his posterity. Just as he may not sell them into slavery, so may he not deprive them of their economic or political freedom. Jefferson held that the act of deferring payment on the public debt, thus imposing this burden on future generations, is tantamount to enslaving them. . . .

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Inner Restraints — Law and Order

In 1776, George Mason wrote this statement into the Virginia Declaration of Rights:

> No free government or the blessings of liberty can be preserved to any people but by a firm adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, frugality, and virtue, and by frequent recurrence to fundamental principles.

What principles did he have in mind? They were, broadly speaking, religious principles; not the doctrines and creeds which set off one group from another but rather the belief in a just and merciful God which they share. It was a basic American principle to separate church and state, not because of any hostility to religion; quite the contrary. The state was to be secular in order that religion might be free to teach our people the inner restraints of self-discipline. The latter, in turn, would reduce or eliminate those infringements on individual rights which so often accompany forceful measures taken by government to establish and maintain public order.

Edmund Burke said:

> Society cannot exist unless a controlling power on the will and appetite is placed somewhere; and the less there is within, the more there must be of it without.

The American tradition holds that a free society is possible only if it consists, predominantly, of spiritually conscious, self-disciplined individuals. This is evident in both the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. The framers of those documents believed they were transcribing "the laws of Nature and of Nature's God." The supremacy of the Constitution was believed to stem from its correspondence to a law superior to the will of human rulers.

Utopian Lures

In recent decades we have veered away from that design for a great and devout nation, whose basic tenet was an economically independent citizenry, supporting and controlling a government which is the servant of the people, not their master! Instead, we have moved sharply toward the seductive idea of a socialist "utopia," which reverses the American pattern, enslaving the people by having the government support them! This is the same false "utopia" from which many of our people, or their forebears, escaped in order to seek freedom and opportunity in America!

To know the ailment is the first step toward finding the cure. We can escape from our current confusion; but it will not be by politi-

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cal legerdemain. Rather, it will be by a rehabilitation of those spiritual and moral values which made our nation great!

America and Moral Leadership

I am no prophet of doom. While I hold that disaster lies ahead unless we change course, I believe that the world is now on the threshold of what could be such a dynamic expansion of spiritual understanding and material productivity as to tax the capacities of all mankind! The world looks to America for moral leadership. The great French philosopher, Jacques Maritain, said:

What the world expects from America is that she keep alive, in human history, a fraternal recognition of the dignity of man . . . the terrestrial hope of men in the Gospel!

We can provide that moral leadership if each of us will dedicate himself to "justice, moderation, temperance, frugality, and virtue, and frequent recurrence to fundamental principles." This task must be undertaken by each one, acting individually. Our success will then be evidenced by the wise actions of our elected lawmakers—and by those who execute the laws they enact. This is the way we can make our liberty secure! ◈

Politics is OTHER PEOPLE'S MONEY

OLE-JACOB HOFF

ONE of the shorter definitions we know is precisely this: *politics* is other people's money.

We quote it here as an aid to voters who, their senses numbed by party propaganda and the promises of politicians, are starting to wonder just what a democratic election is about. Because, dear voter, this, like most other elections, is concerned with one thing and one thing only — *your*

This article by co-editor Ole-Jacob Hoff is from the September 23, 1967 issue of the Norwegian weekly, *Farmand*, published by Dr. Trygve J. B. Hoff.

While written with a view to the current local elections in Norway, its content may apply to other countries and other elections as well.

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money, and who is to spend it – you or the politicians.

Every party has its magic formula designed to convince you, the voter, of the wonders that will be wrought with your money, if only that particular party's politicians are empowered to conjure with it. "Planning and Controls" are what the Labour Party wants, while "Rural Development" is the universal incantation intoned by them all. But – as voters will already have perceived – these catch phrases are rehashes of the age-old assertion that by investing your money via a multitude of bureaucrats you will benefit more than if you invest it yourself.

Is the politicians' claim justified? Obviously it is not. Neither is it true. The high standard of living presently enjoyed by the Norwegian people has not been brought about by the efforts of politicians or the government. It is attributable solely to the profitable activities of private businessmen. What is more, such benefits as have accrued to the people of Norway would probably have been far greater had not the state and the authorities intervened as extremely expensive middlemen.

Admittedly, the politician's lot is not an easy one: in a modern democracy like Norway politicians are compelled to bid at auction for public support. This explains why they strive to outbid one another, and frequently make promises they are unable to redeem.

Don't let them confuse you, dear voter. Their magic formulas are no more effective in the rarefied atmosphere of political promises than they are at the earthly level of private enterprise. The real point at issue is to what extent you are willing to put yourself under the tutelage of the authorities.

Nevertheless—listen carefully to what the politicians have to say. If you happen to hear of someone who, instead of wanting to do conjuring tricks with your money, is prepared to take a chance on *you* – private citizen and taxpayer, the man politicians and authorities live on (and off) – then, but only then, you may heed the dictates of your heart and reason:

Vote for him. ◈

The Duty of Private Judgment

FOR NOTHING is more incongruous than for an advocate of liberty to tyrannize over his neighbors.

JONATHAN MAYHEW

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The Roots of Democracy

MILTON H. MATER

SINCE the Committee for Economic Development released its highly critical report on local governments in July, 1966, and suggested that the existing 80,000 local governments in the United States be reduced by at least 80 per cent, the cry for consolidating small local governments into larger units has reached new heights. Even the U.S. Chamber of Commerce has come out for eliminating local governments on the basis of greater efficiency.

Of course, I do not mean to defend inefficiency or corruption in any government, no matter how small, yet to hope for a government to become more perfect and "responsive" just because it is large, is to fly in the face of our own current experience with the confusing blandness of the overpowering bureaucracy which characterizes our oversized and ever-expanding Federal government.

The attack on local government has become so much a part of modern intellectual life that even the conservative *Wall Street Journal* in an "inverted think" editorial on July 27, 1967, blames *too much* local government for the race riots of the summer of 1967.

"This sorry situation," the editorial says, "of course reflects a breakdown in America's system of government. Local governments,

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close to the people, are supposed to be alert and responsive to their needs. What has gone wrong?"

—As if the big city governments of Detroit, Newark, and New York, where the racial conflict was most violent and destructive, could be called "local governments"!

Later in the editorial, a questionable "average" statistic is introduced to prove the point:

> One sizable difficulty is that there are simply too many local governments, an average of one for every 2,500 Americans. Most of these units are so small that they cannot hope to apply modern methods to current and future responsibilities.

If indeed every 2,500 citizens in Detroit were represented in the government, I doubt that the riots would have occurred. The government would have been too responsive to local control to permit such a breakdown of law and order. Where in the modern United States have we had a riot in a town of 2,500 or less that hasn't been caused by an influx of outside agitators?

Rather than one government for every 2,500 people, the millions in New York, Newark, and Detroit have only a handful of representatives, in governments dominated by a strong, politically powerful mayor who shapes the flow of city news to newspapers, radio, and television. Each mayor controls the programs for the expenditure of millions of dollars of city, state, and Federal funds, with hardly a by-your-leave from his city council. Each city council member represents several hundred thousand people—not 2,500! Does such a city government even faintly represent an "average" of one government for 2,500 people? What kind of rapport can the people feel with a government so distant, so unrepresentative and—because of the extravagant election promises and claims of the big city politicians—so lacking in credibility?

Democracy in Turkey

The political pressure and editorials for more dilution of local control and for the removal of government still further from the people who must pay for it, bring to mind a thought-provoking incident which occurred in 1962 when I was taking my two weeks of Active Duty as an Army Reserve Officer. I was assigned to an installation at Redstone Arsenal at Huntsville, Alabama. During this time I was fortunate enough to share an apartment in the Bachelor Officer's Quarters with a young Turkish Officer who was with a group attending classes on our American missiles. After a week of breakfast chats during which he learned that I

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was an American businessman during the other 50 weeks of the year, he became quite informally friendly and discussed Turkish political problems which were in a particularly hectic state at that time.

One evening Gursel came in with two of his Turkish friends and asked if they could speak with me seriously for a little while. These were well-educated men and, I gathered, members of important Turkish families with connections in government and industry. When I nodded, he asked me quite bluntly, "How can we make democracy work in Turkey?"

The question took me aback. How could I, an American, with practically no knowledge of his country, advise him on a vitally important subject such as this?

I knew from previous conversations that he was looking for some new formula of parliamentary representation that would prevent the turmoil which periodically shook the very foundations of the Turkish political system. I had no advice or comments on parliamentary democracy which I felt would be helpful.

However, as I sat back and pondered my answer, the thought came to me to find out just how deep the roots of Turkish democracy went. I mused over the beginnings of our own democracy which sprang nearly full grown from our English heritage. I thought of the "Mayflower Compact" and our own sturdy New England and Eastern Colonial experience and the states which grew out of it. What kind of democratic heritage did the Turks have, I wondered?

"Let me ask you some questions about the political life of your country outside of your great cities," I began. "How do you govern yourselves in your small provincial towns and villages? For instance, are your policemen local men, hired and paid for by the town?"

The answer was, "No. They are sent to the town from Ankara, the capital of Turkey."

"What about your judges?" I asked. "Are they elected by the local citizens of a town or of a geographical area like our county?" (I showed them the county boundaries on an Alabama roadmap.)

The answer was, "Oh no, no, no!"

I then asked, "How are your tax collectors appointed? Are they elected by the people of the village?"

This was an even more shocking thought. "Oh no," they answered, "they are sent from Ankara. If they were elected by the people of the village they could never

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collect any taxes. The people would not pay them. They would have no respect for them."

Freedom to Vote "Yes"

It turned out that the same was true for all officials whom we regard as essentially local people, elected by their peers to carry out the laws of the land. It also turned out that the only semblance of democracy which they had was a vote for the President and a vote for a representative in parliament who was chosen for them by a political party and whose election was by some kind of proportional representation system, so that the people hardly knew who their own parliamentary representative was.

I then explained to them how our towns and counties operate on a strong local control basis. I explained that democracy existed on the principle of electing officials at the lowest level, as well as at the highest, and then giving these local officials even more respect and cooperation than we give to a Federally appointed official from a distant capital.

I suggested that they spend some of their time in the United States visiting small-town city halls and county courthouses to observe how our democracy works. Perhaps they could take these American ideals of local democracy back to Turkey with them and start what we call a "grass roots" movement toward local control.

The Case for Home Rule

I think of my discussion with these earnest young Turks when I read of the C.E.D. report calling for the abolishment of our county units in favor of consolidated supragovernmental units; I think of it when I read of proposals in my own state of Oregon to permit the Governor to appoint judges rather than elect them on a local level; it is brought to mind when I contemplate the activities of the Internal Revenue Service which sends mysterious men from one area of the United States to other far-off areas, to make sure that we send our money to Washington for local redistribution by other faceless men – men empowered to haul us, under arrest by nonlocal law officers, into tax courts ruled over by judges for whom we never voted.

Are we moving closer to the unworkable Turkish system of nonlocal government?

I am concerned over whether or not our democracy can stand up under these assaults on local self-rule by prestigious groups who seem to confuse bigness with efficiency and efficiency with democracy. If we permit these assaults to succeed, can our democracy

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truly exist in workable form without a strong commitment in the minds and hearts of our people – and can such a commitment be maintained when the people are moved still further away from control of their government? A recent news story told of a national poll which disclosed that only 54 per cent of the people questioned knew who their congressman was. If our town and county "units" are trimmed down by 80 per cent, as has been suggested, these "units" would be even fewer and further away from us than our 435 congressmen are today. What an invitation to a computerized, dehumanized rule by faceless technicians who would see nothing but "improved efficiency" in a George Orwellian "big brother is watching you" type of society!

As for me, I'd rather pay in money for the bumbling inefficiency of our overlapping, responsive local governments close to home than pay in loss of freedom to some far off, "highly efficient computer" to which I would be just another punch card to be used or discarded – for the "good of the State." ◈

CHANGE

LAWRENCE FERTIG

Mr. Fertig is an economic columnist. This article appears by permission of Columbia Features, Inc.

A TRIP ABROAD for discussions with economists from various parts of the world (as well as some incidental sight-seeing and research) has a therapeutic value. It acts as a kind of brainwash – not, of course, the kind that Governor Romney talks about. Distance from the U.S. gives one perspective on events and trends, which is sorely needed in this hectic world.

We all know that the U.S. has a very advanced technology and a vigorous enterprise system, but only by talking to foreign observ-

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ers can we grasp the great respect, amounting almost to awe, with which they regard the sheer *dynamism* of the American economy. The fact of American dynamism is more forcibly impressed as one travels about Europe and observes how business is done. Although American methods are often imitated, the tremendous drive which characterizes American operations is largely lacking.

This contrast is noted by European economists. They express tremendous confidence in the economic future of the U.S. Despite sensational stories in the foreign press about race riots in our major cities, shrewd Europeans understand that our political structure is quite solid. Anyway, they ask, if one is not to trust investments in the U.S., where in the world is it possible to commit capital funds with safety?

Equilibrium Is Unstable

The dynamism of the American economy was brought to mind by a brilliant theoretical paper delivered at the Mont Pelerin Society conference at Vichy, France, by Professor Israel Kirzner of New York University. The point he made was that economic analysis, until recently, always stressed the importance of "equilibrium" – the balance of economic forces. But the idea accented by the eminent Dr. Ludwig von Mises and by Dr. Friedrich Hayek (who represent the "Austrian" school of thought) gives pre-eminence to the millions of individual decisions which create "*disequilibrium*," or change.

They emphasize change and movement in the economy as the important ingredient. "Equilibrium" is, to be sure, a theoretical objective, but this delicate balance is shattered in a dynamic economy the instant it is reached. The Mises theory, as Kirzner explains it, points to the fact that individuals are always "seeking out the best course of action, venturing, exploring, innovating, searching. They are constantly testing the nature of the constraints which circumscribe them." It is this questing and dynamism which changes the relationship of economic factors every day and every hour. Old methods and old businesses often die in the process and new ones are created. The late Professor Joseph Schumpeter of Harvard aptly called this process "creative destruction."

Restraints That Destroy

Governments are always seeking to create some kind of equilibrium by imposing restraints on people's actions – restrictions which they believe will give the desired result. They order wage-price con-

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trols, investment controls, exchange controls, etc., etc., in an attempt to achieve their objective. But these government controls are like the weight of a dead hand. Individuals always try to find ways of circumventing government regulations which place the free market in a strait jacket. The free market permits human inventiveness and energy to express itself, and any attempt to control these creative factors is self-defeating and harmful.

One way in which governments seek to achieve their objective is by monetary manipulation. In the main, this means *inflation*. Under certain depressed conditions and for a time, such a policy seems to be successful. As the *inflation* continues, a new equilibrium is reached at some higher level of industrial activity. Then the forces of change undermine the new balance. When necessary adjustments begin to take place, governments try to preserve the old balance, and this leads to a new inflation. Thus, the inflationary process becomes perpetual and so does the depreciation of paper money.

In this month [October, 1967] the U. S. economy is trying to adjust – as it has been trying for many months – to a new set of conditions. It is adjusting to one of the strongest infusions of money and credit into the economic bloodstream that has ever occurred in so short a time. The immediate consequence of this inflation is becoming evident in expanded activity and higher prices. The long-term consequence is another matter. It may not be so pleasant.

"You are a very powerful, dynamic nation," said a distinguished European economist to me during the conference at Vichy. "But you do foolish things, especially in monetary and fiscal policies." Then he paused, and thoughtfully said, "But you probably can continue such actions quite a time to come. They may not be fatal now. But it is tragic to see a nation as rich and powerful as yours sapping its strength and undermining its foundations. In the long run, such policies have always been disastrous." ◈

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Civil Liberty

I WOULD CHOOSE to call civil liberty that power over their own actions which the members of the state reserve to themselves, and which their officers must not infringe.

JOSEPH PRIESTLEY

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Demand Deposit Inflation . . . .

ANTHONY M. REINACH

SUPPOSE that yours is a small community which, before automobiles, would have been referred to as a "one-horse" town. Today it might be called a "one-gasoline-station" town. Its government is centered in a mayor who has promised to render generous services on a parsimonious budget. Actually, the mayor seems to be achieving his contradictory objectives. In truth, however, he has prevailed upon the proprietor of the town's only gasoline station to mix his gas with water and share with the town government the profits generated by the dilution. The exposure of this knavery triggers a campaign to justify it as "government policy in the interest of the people." Notwithstanding, I suspect that righteous indignation will still be aroused in even the town's most benign citizens.

Although such knavery is, of course, ludicrous, it is just as ludicrous that citizens, in respect to their money, passively permit their Federal government to victimize them by essentially the same fraud as described above. The fact that this fraud, monetary inflation, will uncontestably perpetrate more injustice in the next decade than did the Spanish Inquisition at its height suggests that there are precious few individuals who really understand monetary inflation.

Technologically, money has taken three basic forms: commodity, paper, and checking account funds. Collaterally, monetary inflation has evolved from coin debasement, to printing press, to the creation of spurious demand deposits. Because demand deposits are the monetary tools employed in over 90 per cent of America's financial transactions, it is demand inflation that is destined to make history's most notorious swindles look like Tootsie Roll thefts by comparison.

Mr. Reinach, an occasional contributor to THE FREEMAN, is a New York businessman, free-lance writer, and monetary economist.

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Recipe for Inflation

To understand how demand deposit inflation works, imagine yourself in the role of a drugstore owner. The name of your drugstore is Fiscal Pharmacy, and you operate it with one employee, Samuel. You wish to remodel your store at a cost of $10,000, but all your funds are being used for other purposes and you have already stretched your credit to just about the last penny. It seems that you will have to abandon, or at least postpone, your remodeling program. But then you get an idea!

You go to your local printer and instruct him to print up $10,000 worth of 30-year bonds on Fiscal Pharmacy, to yield 3½ per cent. In addition, you instruct your printer to make up a checkbook for "The Samuel Trust Company." A few days later, armed with the freshly printed bonds and checkbook, you summon Samuel to inform him of a proprietary position with which you are about to reward him for his loyalty:

You. I have decided to remodel Fiscal Pharmacy. It will take $10,000.
Samuel. That's a lot of potatoes.
You. Yes, and I haven't been able to raise the first dollar.
Samuel. Maybe you should cut your personal living expenses.
You. And have my wife throw me out?
Samuel. So what do you propose?
You. Here's my plan. From now on, you will function not only as a clerk, but also as the private banker for Fiscal Pharmacy.
Samuel. But I haven't got $10,000.
You. You won't need it. In fact, you won't need any of it.
Samuel. No?
You. No. Here's $10,000 worth of bonds on Fiscal Pharmacy and a checkbook for "The Samuel Trust Company." Your bank now owns the bonds, so please pay for them by issuing a $10,000 check to Fiscal Pharmacy.

Having deposited this check with a conventional bank—conventional, that is, except for its naivety – you now have the wherewithal for your remodeling program.

The funds you subsequently transfer to your contractor will soon be transferred by him to his own creditors and others, and so forth. Thus begins the process by which the $10,000 you and Samuel conspired to create become diffused throughout America's entire commercial banking system. However, the atomized dispersion of that $10,000 will in no way diminish its impact on the nation's money supply.

Because banks are permitted by

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law to lend out roughly 80 per cent of their deposits, and because banks, since World War II, have been vigorously lending out virtually every dollar allowed by law, an additional $8,000 (80 per cent of $10,000) of loans – or investments in credit instruments, which is the same thing–will be promptly made.

These new loans will be promptly returned to the banking system as new demand deposits and will, in turn, enable the banks to lend out another $6,400 (80 per cent of $8,000), which will likewise be deposited and generate the additional lending of $5,120, et cetera, et cetera, et cetera. The result will be $40,000 of derivative demand deposits spawned from the initial bogus $10,000 demand deposit, for a grand total of $50,000.

The Government Procedure That Triggers Inflation

Fictitious? Yes. Fantastic? No. With one major modification, the conspiratorial procedure by which you and Samuel created the initial bogus $10,000 is essentially the same procedure by which government triggers monetary inflation. How such money mushrooms into five times its original amount is not even privileged information; indeed, it is publicized by the government itself.

Monetary inflation begins with the Federal budget which, let us suppose, is $150 billion. To raise this money, the government can tax, borrow, or inflate. Let us further suppose that the government taxes $100 billion and borrows $40 billion, still leaving it $10 billion short. At this point, were my drugstore analogy procedurally accurate, the U. S. Treasury would enter in the role of Fiscal Pharmacy's owner, and the Federal Reserve would enter in the role of Samuel, Fiscal Pharmacy's private banker:

Treasury. Our expenses this year are $150 billion.
Fed. That's a lot of potatoes.
Treasury. We were able to tax only $100 billion.
Fed. Maybe you should raise taxes by 50 per cent.
Treasury. And get voted out of office?
Fed. Well, how much were you able to borrow?
Treasury. $40 billion.
Fed. That still leaves you $10 billion short.
Treasury. Yes, so here's $10 billion worth of bonds. Please issue a check in payment for them.

If the actual procedure were this brazen, the naked chicanery of monetary inflation would be too fully exposed. Consequently, the Treasury rarely sells government

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bonds directly to the Fed. Instead, the Treasury simply notifies the Fed when it has unsold bonds. The Fed, in turn, starts buying government bonds in the open market with the exclusive purpose of creating the very market-place climate required by the Treasury to liquidate its sticky inventory. The final result, of course, is the same as if the Treasury had sold the bonds directly to the Fed in the first place. In fact, the net result may be even more inflationary; it is quite possible that the Fed might have to buy $11 billion worth of bonds in the market to enable the Treasury to dispose of $10 billion.

The Fed claims to have three weapons of direct control over monetary inflation. But this claim would be valid only under circumstances which would make the weapons unnecessary: (a) when the government is balancing its budget, or (b) when the government, having failed to balance its budget, is willing to sell its bonds on a free market basis. When neither situation prevails, the Fed's alleged weapons are rendered impotent and simply serve as disguises for monetary inflation. Those three weapons are:

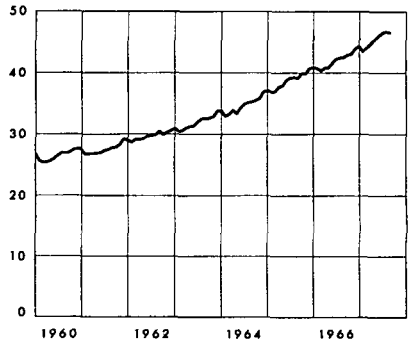
1. Open Market Operations
2. Reserve Requirements
3. Discount Rate (or Rediscount Rate)

Open Market Operations

Open market operations are simply the buying and selling of government bonds by the Fed. One side of the open market operation coin has already been demonstrated – the buying of government bonds to help the Treasury sell its own. In theory, after the Treasury is rid of its bonds, the Fed turns around and starts merchandizing its own recent purchases. In practice, regrettably, the Treasury is rarely without bonds for sale, at least these days. As a result, the Fed's ownership of government bonds has increased from $26 billion to $48 billion on the past 7 years, and *that* is the launching pad destined to rocket prices in the forthcoming decade.

U.S. Government Securities Owned by Federal Reserve Banks

(Billions of dollars)



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Reserve Requirements Tend Toward Zero

As already stated, banks are permitted by law to lend out roughly 80 per cent of their deposits. The figure today is nearer 85 per cent but 80 per cent illustrates the point and is easy to figure. The difference between 80 per cent and 100 – 20 per cent – is, correspondingly, the figure commonly used as the average reserve requirement for the three categories of commerical banks which are members of the Federal Reserve System. This means that these member banks must deposit with the Fed 20 per cent of their total demand deposits. By raising reserve requirements, the Fed would deter part or all the inflationary impact threatened by its government bond purchases. This, however, would "tighten money", which would cause higher interest rates, and would thereby make it more difficult for the subsequent sales of government bonds at "favorable" rates of interest. As a result, reserve requirements for city banks have not been raised in over 15 years. (On November 24, 1960, the reserve requirement for country banks was raised from 11 to 12 per cent.)

The discount rate is the interest rate member banks must pay the Fed for borrowing money from it. When a bank becomes temporarily "under-reserved" (has more than 80 per cent of its demand deposits out on loan, which is the same as having less than 20 per cent of its demand deposits available for deposit with the Fed), it has a choice of either borrowing from the Fed or liquidating some of its loans. In theory, the second course of action will counter inflation whereas borrowing from the Fed will not. Therefore, to carry the theory further, raising the discount rate will discourage borrowing and thereby counter inflation, and lowering the discount rate will encourage borrowing and thereby stimulate inflation. Ironically, this theory more often than not operates in reverse. Prompted by a costly discount rate to counter inflation through the liquidation of loans, commercial banks usually begin by selling some of *their* government bonds. This, in turn, will cause consternation in U.S. Treasury circles, which will instigate telephone calls to the Fed, which will trigger open market purchases, which will add more fuel to the inflationary fire than was initially withdrawn by raising the discount rate. For this reason, the discount rate is useless as a weapon to combat inflation.

Prime Commercial Paper is America's most valued interest-bearing credit instrument, and its

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interest rates are the most sensitive to shifts in financial sentiment. Since World War I, there have been 24 trend reversals in the Federal Reserve discount rate. Without exception, these trend reversals were preceded by trend reversals in Commercial Paper interest rates. In other words, and notwithstanding the lofty pronouncements of "positive constructive action" that attended many of these 24 trend reversals, the Federal Reserve discount rate for half a century has been tagging after the Prime Commercial Paper rate like an obedient puppy.

Change in Discount Rate A Powerless Weapon

Twice, in 1926 and again in 1927, when stock market speculation rather than monetary inflation was the object of "summit" control, the Fed reversed the discount rate trend by reducing it half a percentage point. In total disregard of prior reductions in Commercial Paper rates, an entire generation of monetary intellectuals has been placing part of the blame for the subsequent stock market boom and bust on one or both of those two discount rate reductions. Even the Fed's own documents make it abundantly evident that the discount rate is just as powerless to combat the current generation's inflation as it was to combat the last generation's stock market boom.

Over the years, the Fed also has enlisted gold to minify the threat of inflation. Until the early 1960's: "Gold [was] the basis of Reserve Bank credit because . . . the power of the Reserve Banks to create money through adding to their deposits or issuing Federal Reserve notes is limited by the requirement of a 25 per cent reserve in gold certificates against both kinds of liabilities. That is to say, the total of Federal Reserve notes and deposits must not exceed four times the amount of gold certificates held by the Reserve Banks. Thus, the ultimate limit on Federal Reserve credit expansion is set by gold." Yet, on the preceding page in the same publication, the Fed confesses that when circumstances in 1945 "threatened to impinge upon the Federal Reserve's freedom of policy action..., Congress deemed it wise to reduce the reserve requirement of the Reserve Banks from 40 per cent for Federal Reserve notes and 35 per cent for deposits to 25 per cent for each kind of liability."[1]

In 1963, Dean Russell concluded: "Whenever the technical cutoff relationship between gold and 'money' has been approached in the

[1] *The Federal Reserve System, Purposes and Functions*, 3rd edition, sixth printing, 1959, pp. 96 and 97.

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past, Congress has modified it—and will unquestionably do so in the future, even to the point of abolishing the technical requirement altogether."[2] Was Dean being a prophet, or just a realist?

Or perhaps Dean was simply taking the Fed at its word for, by 1963, it was no longer terming "gold...the basis of Reserve Bank credit . . .", but was saying instead: ". . . reserves in gold constitute a statutory base for Reserve Bank power to create Federal Reserve credit." Then, two years later, came the dismantling of that "statutory base": "The law determining the minimum holdings of gold certificates required as reserves against the Federal Reserve Banks' liabilities was changed on March 3, 1965. The Reserve Banks are no longer required to hold 25 per cent reserves against their deposit liabilities, but they are still required to hold gold certificates equal to at least 25 per cent of their note liabilities." Was Dean's predicted reason correct, that "the technical cutoff relationship between gold and 'money' (was being) approached"? Letting the Fed speak for itself: "If the change had not been made, the amount of 'free' gold certificates on March 31, 1965, would have been [down to] $1.0 billion."[3]

Monetary and Other Factors Affect Impact of Inflation

There are many minor monetary factors constantly influencing the impact of inflation. One of the more important is the conversion of demand deposits into cash, and vice versa. For example, the withdrawal of $100 from your checking account not only immediately reduces demand deposits by $100, but also ultimately extinguishes an additional $400 of derivative demand deposits. Consequently, money is customarily "tight" just before Christmas—when the demand for cash is at its height.

There are also many "non-monetary" factors constantly influencing the impact of inflation. The standard here is productivity. Thus, the most aggravating factor is war, and the most moderating factors are technological advances and industrial expansion. Labor strikes, because they curb production, aggravate the impact of inflation. Labor contracts that result in the curtailment of labor-saving devices also aggravate the impact of inflation, but labor contracts that merely call for the es-

[2] Dean Russell, "Money, Banking, Debt and Inflation," unpublished paper, 1963.

[3] *The Federal Reserve System, Purposes and Functions*, 5th edition, 1st printing, 1963; 2nd printing, 1965; pp. 165 and 175.

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calation of wages do not. A population increase of productive citizens moderates inflation's impact, but a population increase of nonproductive citizens or a population decrease of productive citizens aggravates it. England's "brain drain" must aggravate the impact of that nation's inflation, but will moderate the impact of America's inflation to the extent that we inherit those "brains." The flight of capital to foreign countries is an aggravating factor whereas the influx of foreign capital is a moderating factor. In a related vein, a so-called "favorable balance of trade" is an aggravating factor whereas an "unfavorable balance of trade" has a moderating effect.

Assessing the Consequences

Some factors which seem to counter the impact of inflation actually intensify it, and vice versa. For example, credit and price controls, inflation's two most inevitable corollaries after rising prices, put sand in the gears of production. Both, thereby, intensify the impact of inflation. On the other hand, increases in the velocity of money (its change-of-hands frequency) are inflationary in theory, but, in reality, counter the impact of inflation. The reason is that most money velocity increases are attended by and generate even greater production increases.

Far more crucial than the factors influencing the impact of inflation are and will be its withering consequences on American life. Historically, every nation whose government resorted to monetary inflation suffered unremitting demotions of its "general welfare." Nor has any government ever abandoned an entrenched policy of monetary inflation. Therefore, barring the revocation of the lessons of history, one need not be a prophet to chart America's economic future.

For 2,500 years, man has been given but two grim choices in respect to his money: "managed" and "convertible gold standard." Chronic monetary inflation goes with a "managed" money system just as chronic money panics go with a "convertible gold standard" money system. The 19 or more money panics that afflicted America in her 170 "convertible gold standard" years negate "convertible gold standard" money as a rational alternative to "managed" money. The only remaining alternative is free enterprise money. This, of course, would require the elimination of government from the money business. ◈

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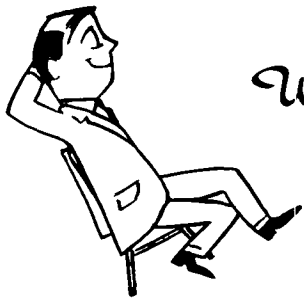

Why Worry?

PAUL L. POIROT

WHEN CHARLES STEVENSON questioned "How Secure Is Your Social Security?" in the October, 1967, *Reader's Digest*, he might have anticipated official response. Wilbur J. Cohen, Under Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, promptly obliged in the *Congressional Record* of September 27, 1967.

What Mr. Stevenson could scarcely have predicted is that Washington's answer would substantiate the view that "social security insurance is in trouble." Not that Mr. Cohen said so directly, but what he said leads to that sad conclusion.

In co-sponsoring the Social Security Amendments of 1967 in the House, Congressman John W. Byrnes had testified:

> I personally do not feel that the burdens imposed by this bill are greater than the taxpayers will be willing to pay. After all, today's taxpayer is tomorrow's beneficiary.

Apparently, the 24 (out of 25) members of the House Ways and Means Committee who signed the report on H.R. 12080 felt the same way. And so did other congressmen, as indicated by the overwhelming 415-3 House approval of the bill. All of this, implies Mr. Cohen, attests to the "actuarial soundness" of the social security program. The political pulse has been measured by experts and a taxpayer revolt is not anticipated. So, social security is as sound as the dollar, if that's any consolation to anyone over 30 who has seen the dollar lose 60 per cent of its purchasing power within his lifetime.

To the complaint that the social security program puts a squeeze on the young, Mr. Cohen replies that it is not so: "Young workers as a group will get social security protection worth 20 to 25 per cent more than they will pay in social security contributions."

What Mr. Cohen fails to men-

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tion is that the "20 to 25 per cent more" is a possibility only because he has not counted the matching half of the social security "contributions" employers are compelled to pay. Even so, with just his own half of the tax, a young worker could have bought a government bond that yields a 33⅓ per cent return in about seven years, or put his money in a savings account at 4¼ per cent, where it would double in dollars every 16½ years. The harsh fact is that a young worker can hope to get back from social security about 40 per cent fewer actual dollars than he and his employer paid into it on his account. His tax dollars are spent as received and earn no interest for him at all.

When Mr. Cohen says, "Young workers could not buy comparable insurance protection from private insurance companies . . . ," the reason ought to be plain: It's against the law to operate a private insurance company that way. Not that the chain-letter fraud of paying off early entries from the contributions of latter-day-suckers hasn't been tried by Ponzi and numerous other schemers. But, so far as is known, every so-called insurance company that has tried to operate without reserves – levying against remaining policyholders to pay off each current claim – eventually has reached the point of no return and has failed. That the social security program has survived for 30 years in the United States may be explained by the fact that new entrants are continuously drafted, with no dropouts allowed. Each taxpayer is drafted into the program for the duration of his productive and taxable lifetime.

Mr. Cohen is quite right, of course, when he says that a compulsory social security program of this type, with prior claim to everyone's future earnings, does not need and should not be expected to build up $350 billion or more of reserves. And he adds, "The 350 billion referred to is the amount that would be needed – if social security were a private, voluntary insurance program – to pay off all obligations on the assumption that there would be no new entrants into the system."

In other words, the $350 billion referred to is that part of the obligations to those presently covered by social security which will have to be paid by those "joining" later. That makes it reasonably clear why new entrants could not be counted on if they had any choice in the matter. The "soundness" of social security rests upon its compulsory nature. Anyone who endorses compulsion as the best policy, despite Mr. Cohen's assurances, well might worry about what will happen to him in his old age. ◈

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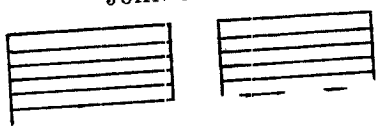
ACCESS TO THE PRESS

WHO DECIDES?

JOHN MERRILL



A GROWING ASSORTMENT of individuals in the United States, strange as it may seem calling themselves *liberals* or *libertarians*, are insisting that not enough viewpoints and opinions are making their way into the American press. They are convinced that minority opinions are not getting their fair and proper hearing, and they feel that if the country's newspapers will not act responsibly in this area, they should be forced to do so. Many of them, spouting the platitudes of the Hutchins Commission Report of 1947, advocate judicial and legislative stimulants to their kind of pluralistic press.

One of this number, Jerome A. Barron, an associate professor of law at George Washington University, has proposed (*Harvard Law Review*, June, 1967) an interpretation of the First Amendment which imposes upon the press an affirmative responsibility to publish minority views, and he would, for example, support legislation which would force newspapers to print letters-to-the-editor from minorities. Professor Barron is rather typical of the new breed of "press directors" acting in the name of social responsibility.

If one looks at this complex issue as having to do only with assuring minority opinions a fair hearing, it is little wonder that a proposal like Professor Barron's would be considered salutary and long overdue.

This, however, is not where the

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problem ends. If such a proposal were taken seriously by enough powerful people in the United States to bring it into practice, a whole bag of new troubles would be opened to plague the person concerned about protecting the free press. Even as "freedom of the press" implies to many the freedom to be heard—a freedom for the consumer, we must not forget that it also implies the freedom to print or not to print—a freedom for the publisher.

The First Amendment provides that the government *will not pass any laws* which abridge press freedom. Although press freedom is not defined in the Bill of Rights, an explicit concern with not passing laws which might diminish press freedom appears to be quite clear. When any group—even government seeking to remedy certain ills which it believes it detects—tells a publisher what he must print, it is taking upon itself an omnipotence and paternalism which is not far removed from authoritarianism. It is restricting press freedom in the name of freedom to read. The next step is to tell the publisher what he *shall not* print.

This paradox (in confusing press freedom with freedom to read) is one of the chief causes for the continuing controversy. It is my belief that "freedom of the press" is not the same thing as "freedom of information." It is obvious that the press can have freedom to print anything it desires without making available to the reader everything it has available to print. Its freedom, in other words, imposes an implicit restriction on the reader's freedom to have access to every bit of information or point of view.

Looking at it in this way, it is not difficult to see that press freedom does not imply freedom of information. The latter term refers to the right of the reader to have all material available for reading, while the former term denotes the right of the publisher to publish or not to publish without external compulsion.

The Publisher's Freedom

"Freedom of the press" obviously means many things. Its meaning is determined by the particular context and by the particular person using it. The publisher, for example, stresses the freedom of the *press* concept, while the reader, seeking in vain for his viewpoint or orientation in certain newspapers, stresses the freedom of *information* concept. The government official who attempts to keep certain information from press has his own definition: the newspaper has a right to print something if it can get it—a kind

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of "freedom to print" but not necessarily a "freedom to get" concept.

Perhaps we try to make the term "freedom of the press" cover too much—to include all the above concepts and others besides. If we were to understand it narrowly, in the sense clearly indicated by its syntax, we would emphasize *the press* and its *freedom* to determine what it will and will not print and to make this determination without interference. This would appear to be at the heart of the term, and those who talk of readers' opinions and viewpoints being ignored or understressed would seem to be referring to something other than "freedom of the press."

I like to think about press freedom as freedom belonging to the press. Other types of freedom are important, too, but let us stick to the press's freedom when we are talking about "press freedom." The press alone, in this view, would be in the position of determining what it would or would not print. The press would have no prior restrictions on its editorial prerogatives; this would be *press freedom.*

Those who favor an interpretation of the First Amendment that protects "freedom of information" or some right of the people "to know" will not like this definition, of course, for they see it as too narrow. They should be reminded, however, that the First Amendment covers their territory of interest also with its provisions of free speech, free assembly, free religious worship, and the like.

But where, someone will ask, is the right of people *to read* and *to hear*? If "freedom of the press" implies the right of the people to read what they want to read, "freedom of speech" must also imply the right of the people to listen to what they want to listen to. Since there is "freedom of speech," I therefore have a "right" to have available to my ears all viewpoints from all possible minorities. Absurd! How can anyone seriously believe that one kind of *freedom* assumes another kind of *right*?

Rule by Minority

The vision of a better journalistic world through coercive publishing rests mainly on the assumption that important minority viewpoints are not being made known in the United States, and that this is deleterious to a democratic society. Although this main premise is not systematically challenged in this article, it seems incumbent on those who advocate controlled access to name some of the important minority positions that are not being publicized by the Amer-

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ican press. The assumption appears to be always floating around that the American public is not getting to know about important information and ideas of the utmost importance. The press, of course, is generally the villain. I have the feeling, contrary to the above assumption, that most Americans get far more from their newspapers and magazines than they want.

The person who is concerned about what is *not* in the press does not appear to be primarily concerned about the freedom of the press; rather he seems disturbed that every possible bit of information is not available everywhere for everybody. His concern, while perhaps "noble" in itself, is fabulously unrealistic and naive. In addition, this person must certainly recognize that his position is potentially *authoritarian*, just as the existing freedom of the press to discriminate (which he bemoans) is potentially *restrictive*.

The Good to Society vs. Social Responsibility

He who would compel publication justifies his position by using terms such as "social responsibility of the press" and "the reader's inherent right to know." He, in other words, puts what he considers the good to society above what the individual publisher considers to be his right of editorial self-determination.

Few sincere and concerned persons would quarrel with the position that "the good to society" or "social responsibility" are laudable concepts which should be served by the press. However, trouble comes when these theoretical concepts are applied to the actual workings of the press in society. The *what* of the concept presents considerable difficulty: What, for instance, is the best way to do the most good to society, and what is the best way to be socially responsible? There are many who would feel very strongly that forcing minority opinions (especially "certain" ones) into a newspaper would be very harmful to the "social good," and that this would be the epitome of social *irresponsibility*.

Who Shall Decide?

The *how* of the concept adds further complications. How will decisions be made about what shall or shall not be printed? What would be a rational manner of making such determinations if we are to take them out of the hands of individual publishers and editors? A Federal court? A Federal *ombudsman*? An FPA (Federal Press Agency) organized on the lines of the Federal Communications Commission?

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From among all the "minority" positions in a given community or in the nation, which ones would have a "right" to be published and which ones would not? Which spokesman for any one "minority" would be published as representative of the whole minority? Or would all of them – or many of them – be published, since undoubtedly there is a pluralism in minority opinions even on a single issue? These are basic and important questions–questions which would certainly plague the *authority* which would have to make such decisions.

Minority viewpoints which one authoritative body would deem valuable and thus worthy of publication might, to another authoritative body that is equally sincere and perspicacious, seem inane, irrational, or otherwise lacking in value. Undoubtedly, even among the stanchest advocates of minority rights, there is preference for *some* minorities over others. Some persons, for instance, would find the views of the Congress of Racial Equality more to their liking than, say, those of the John Birch Society or the Ku Klux Klan. Presumably, if persons with such preferences were members of the determining body, the minority views of the latter two "minority" groups would find it rather difficult to get "equal" treatment.

Beyond this, there is another rather perplexing and closely related problem. What emphasis should various minority views receive in the press, or even in a single newspaper? Would this be decided by the proportion of the total population which the "minority" under consideration comprises? Would it be decided on the basis of the "worth" or "intrinsic value to society" of the viewpoint espoused? If so, how would such worth be ascertained? Would it be decided on the basis of the economic or political pressure which a particular "minority" group might bring to bear on the power structure? One is tempted to suspect that this would probably be the case.

What View Shall Prevail?

This brings us to another question. To some it may not appear to be important, but it certainly would cry out very quickly for an answer under a coercive-printing system. This is the question of defining a "minority" group or a "minority" viewpoint. Just what is a minority in the sense of seriously considering the forced publication of its opinions or positions? Just as the majority is composed of many minorities, there are minorities within minorities. How does one determine which of these minorities should

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be heard? Or are they all to be heard with equal force? Or, said in another way, just how do we get at *the* minority opinion?

Many persons will reply that these are unimportant and theoretical questions that should not be permitted to interfere with the serious consideration of a forced-publication system. Sure, they will say, there will be problems and weaknesses, but let us not be reactionary; let us push on in spite of obstacles toward a New Journalism in which all opinions receive equal and just airing and no minority group can feel slighted by the treatment it receives in the press. This is a beautiful and idealistic aim, indeed, but one which only the most detached and naive person could possibly envision as being achieved.

In conclusion, it seems safe to say that a forced-publishing system will take root only when our society has proceeded much farther along the road toward Orwell's 1984, wherein a paternalistic and omnipotent Power Structure makes our individual decisions for us. And, even then in that wonderland of equality where all opinions will blend deliciously into one big View-Stew, I wouldn't be surprised if there is not at least one "minority" fretting away somewhere on the sidelines – misunderstood and fighting fiercely to get a greater voice in social affairs. But, then, perhaps it won't really matter since minorities will not exist and there will only be one surprisingly harmonious and fair *majority* babbling its one message in a number of interesting ways. ◈

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

To Speak, or Not

THIS is true liberty, when free-born men,
Having to advise the public, may speak free,
Which he who can, and will, deserves high praise;
Who neither can nor will, may hold his peace;
What can be juster in a State than this?

EURIPIDES, *The Suppliants*

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CAVEAT EMPTOR

GEORGE WINDER

"CAVEAT EMPTOR" is a principle of law older than Christianity. It came to us from ancient Rome and must have been in common use long before Justinian prepared his famous code.

I first realized its importance many years ago in Australia when I heard it expounded by a country Magistrate. It seemed a long way from Rome to that tiny, sun-baked town in the Australian back country; but the Magistrate decided the case and quoted the same Latin tag with the same confidence his counterpart might have shown two thousand years ago in ancient Rome.

Caveat emptor – let the buyer beware – has terminated the hopes of many thousands of litigants and will decide many legal actions again before paternal governments throw it into the discard along with much else that belongs essentially to a people trained to be responsible for their own actions.

In this Australian case some young ex-service men had rented a threshing machine and undertaken contracts to thresh wheat. The machine had not worked satisfactorily and had finally broken down. Whereupon, the young men sued the owner for the loss they had sustained by reason of the defective machine. There was much sympathy for the young men, and most people in the little town thought they were bound to win their case. They told the Magistrate how in good faith they had rented this machine to do a job of threshing for which it had been built, but it had let them down. To their surprise, the Magistrate, although most sym-

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pathetic, pronounced the fatal words "Caveat emptor," of which they had never heard, and gave the case to the defendant.

The good people who had listened to the case were inclined to agree that "the law was an ass" and to hope that they might never be subject to court action.

Eventually, it appeared that the law was right. The thresher had been used with a very powerful engine entirely unsuited for the job and this had caused the breakdown. This fact had not been known to the Magistrate but, by accepting the principle, "Caveat emptor," he had reached the right verdict. The young men should have known that the thresher would not work with such an engine and should not have hired it. Having done so, they were not entitled to claim damages against the owner when the machine failed them.

The Rule of Law

For just such occasions the law, over a period of more than two thousand years, has evolved the rule "Caveat emptor"; and if we but think of it, this rule in the vast majority of cases applies with justice.

The Court cannot find out exactly the rights and wrongs of every case that comes before it but must have definite rules on which its judgments are formed. In this case it has evolved a rule which throws responsibility upon the buyer. It casts on him the responsibility of looking after his own interest, and any man who cannot do this is unlikely to succeed in a society where business is to be done under contracts freely entered. He must see that the goods he buys or hires are suitable for the purposes for which he procures them, for it is not the duty of the seller or owner to do so.

If a man, after having accepted an article, could plead before the courts that it was not up to his expectations and require that it be suitably replaced, then thousands of transactions would never be completed and the work of the courts would be endless.

Although the law must be bound by certain rules, it tries wherever it can to make them as just as possible. "Caveat emptor" does not apply when there is the least misrepresentation involved in a contract, or if, as in the case quoted, the owner of the threshing machine had definitely stated that it was strong enough to be used with such an engine. In such an event, the responsibility for proper performance would be his and the Courts would enforce judgment against him accordingly.

One of the troublesome areas

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for applying the rule of "Caveat emptor" concerns the sale of goods which come into the market in weights or quantities not easily ascertained. In the case of drinks and packaged goods, the makers have long been compelled to describe with accuracy the contents of their containers, and fines are inflicted on those who do not.

Doubt often arises about fruits and vegetables which come onto the market bagged or in crates; but in most Western nations the rule of "Caveat emptor" still applies. Most wholesalers have a reputation to uphold and will see to it that their goods are of a uniform quality that buyers may trust. Sellers whose goods are defective also gain a reputation and their goods are discounted accordingly.

What Is a Cabbage?

It appears that in Britain this is to be changed. The Labor Government recently employed numerous men who, after being trained, will be placed in every wholesale market to see that fruits and vegetables arrive in measured weights and size and in uniform crates so that the buyer will no longer have to beware. The responsibility will be taken from him by government inspection.

For example, cauliflower heads must measure within a fraction of an inch of the diameter at which they are marked for sale. In the chill of the morning as he harvests his cauliflower for market, the grower must measure each head accurately and see that it exactly satisfies the statutory requirements. It will no longer be left to the customer to determine that they are of the weight, size, and freshness required. If the seller does the job carefully, he may miss the day's market and thus the bloom of freshness the customer seeks in cauliflower.

It might be thought that the customers could rely on the reputation of the sellers to give them a fair deal or could examine the produce themselves before they bought; but apparently the people of the future are not to be credited with that amount of intelligence.

The ancient rule of law, "Caveat emptor," goes back into the dim past of history. This is a sufficient reason for a socialist government, which believes in advancement but not in tradition, to think that such laws are obsolete.

"Caveat emptor" belongs to the "bad old days" when men were presumed to be self-responsible. Such a rule may be expected to disappear as individuality diminishes and the state comes to be held responsible for everything. ◈

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"CAPTAIN EDDIE"

Rickenbacker (Prentice-Hall, $7.95), the autobiography of Eddie – or Edward V. – Rickenbacker, has been hailed as a modern Alger story. Though Eddie, who never went to high school (indeed, he never finished the seventh grade), was certainly a poor boy who made good, the Alger description doesn't quite fill the bill. In the Alger stories, as I remember them, luck was as important as pluck, and there was usually some kindly benefactor present to push a willing boy along. Captain Eddie certainly had more than his share of the luck when it came to outwitting death on automobile race tracks, in the skies, or on the sea. But he never married the boss's daughter, and in his various professional careers he had to fight for every last break he ever got.

Eddie's book makes mincemeat of practically every shibboleth that governs our Great Society age. He came from the wrong side of the tracks, he was left fatherless at the age of thirteen, he was a school dropout, he spoke German at home and had an atrocious English accent, he was a member of a gang that specialized in breaking globes on gas-burning street lights, and his first full-time job was with a glass factory that worked him from six in the evening till six in the morning in complete defiance of the child labor laws. If the crude "environmental" theory which stresses the societal impact on children were true, Eddie would surely have taken to crime. But in his case the "family" – which can provide its own environment even in a slum – prevailed.

His father, a Swiss German who had emigrated to Columbus, Ohio, was a scrabbler who saved enough out of working as a railroad laborer to buy a small lot on which he built his own house.

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There was no electricity in the house, no running water, and the only heat came from the kitchen stove. Eddie's mother, a Swiss of French origin, was devoutly religious. The father corrected Eddie's youthful gang escapades with the switch; the mother sent him at kindergarten age into the backyard to plant potato eyes. There was nothing permissive about life in the Rickenbacker household, but Eddie's six brothers and sisters made things happy and interesting. Eddie looks back on his grammar school days with nostalgia, even though he was called "Dutchy" and "Kraut" and had to fight his way into school in the morning and out again in the afternoon.

His Start in Auto Racing

Eddie went to work in 1904 to help support the family. He had a hankering to understand any machinery that was related to transportation. The times were propitious, for the Wright brothers had flown their first plane the year before, and Henry Ford had just started the Ford Motor Company. Eddie kept changing his jobs until he had landed one with a garage. He sneaked an electric car out one night to get the hang of driving. Realizing there was more to mechanics and electricity than simple repair work, he started a course with the International Correspondence School in mechanical engineering. He discovered that a man named Lee Frayer was actually making horseless carriages right in Columbus. When Frayer turned him down for a job, he slipped into the Frayer shop the next morning and swept it clean as a token of what he could do if he were hired. Frayer broke down and hired him.

Lee Frayer deserves a spot in industrial history, for he was the first man to make an American car with a left-hand drive. He liked to race, and he soon had Eddie sitting beside him as his mechanic. Eddie proved to have a sixth sense about engine performance, and it wasn't long before he was racing himself. This was the automotive pioneer's way of practicing public relations to increase sales. Eddie saw good men killed, and he had dangerous skidding accidents himself; his car rolled over three times on one occasion, tossing him about under the cowl and dislocating his collarbone.

World War I Ace

His miraculous escapes as a racing driver led him to believe that Somebody Upstairs was protecting him, saving him for some unique destiny. When World War I broke out, Eddie just had to become an aviator. His luck took

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him to France despite the story spread in England that he was a German spy, a Prussian nobleman who was really the Baron Edward Von Rickenbacher. A lie about his age got him into primary flying school. He picked up pointers from the famous French-American Rauol Lufbery of the Lafayette Escadrille, and he made his first flight over the German lines in an unarmed plane before he had had any gunnery training. Eventually, the Americans were provided with guns, and Eddie developed the aerial marksmanship that made him the "ace of aces," with twenty-six "kills" to his credit.

Eddie's wartime reputation was his only capital when he came home in 1919, but it was good enough to land him in the automobile manufacturing business as vice-president and director of sales of the Rickenbacker Motor Company. The firm's product was of Eddie's own designs, but he went broke trying to establish the superiority of four-wheel brakes. The prevalent theory in the middle nineteen twenties was that four-wheel brakes would cause a car to skid rather than grip the road. Eddie lived to see the four-wheel braking system accepted, but by then he was out of the automobile manufacturing business with a debt of $250,000. Characteristically, he refused to declare himself a bankrupt. On his reputation he raised the $700,000 that was needed to get control of the Indianapolis Speedway.

Evidently the old excuse for horse racing – that it "improves the breed" – actually holds true when it is adapted to automobile racing. Eddie's experience as the Speedway's entrepreneur convinced him that the grueling five hundred miles of the Indianapolis Memorial Day race "are equal to one hundred thousand or more miles of ordinary driving on the highways and byways of America." It would require ten or fifteen years of routine testing, he says, to equal the job done on the Speedway in one day. Thus, without the Indianapolis race, "your new automobile would be no better in many ways than a ten-to-fifteen-year-old car." The newer disc brake, the hydraulic shock absorber, and the low-slung frame all came out of the Indianapolis race, and so did the thirty-thousand-mile rubber tire.

Eastern Airlines and World War II

Eddie couldn't compete as an automotive designer and manufacturer against General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler, but Detroit's loss here was the airline business's gain. As the genius who put Eastern Air Lines together in

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the thirties, Eddie proved to his own satisfaction that it is possible to run an airline profitably without continuing government subsidy. As the leading air transportation man in the nation, Eddie still had Somebody Upstairs looking after him. He survived a terrible crash near Atlanta, Georgia, in 1941. A year or so later he took off on a wartime mission over the Pacific. His plane missed its Canton Island stop, ran out of gas, and had to be ditched in a lonely stretch of sea that was beyond SOS radio reach of any American station.

The story that Eddie tells about his twenty-four-day ordeal on a rubber life raft, with only a captured sea gull, a rubbery shark, and a few fish to eat and an occasional bit of drinking water from a rain squall, is one of the classic true adventure sagas of the century. Eddie, who had faced death before, knew how to nerve his fellow castaways to the point of wanting to live until help came. Again Somebody Upstairs was with Eddie. Six out of seven survived the twenty-four days, and when they were finally rescued, there wasn't an atheist among them.

Eddie's book is pleasurable as sheer narrative. It is also bone and marrow of our automotive and aviation history, and everyone who aspires to understand the first two-thirds of the twentieth century will have to consult it. ◈

▸ YOU ARE EXTRAORDINARY, by Roger J. Williams (New York: Random House, 1967), 242 pp., $5.95. (Copies also available from F.E.E.)

Reviewed by George Charles Roche III

"IN OUR CROWDED WORLD is civilization moving ahead toward the time when tombstones can be mass-produced on an assembly line – all bearing the same epitaph?

HERE LIE THE REMAINS OF A NORMALIZED STATISTIC"

Dr. Roger J. Williams, professor of biochemistry at the University of Texas and a distinguished research scientist with a long record of scientific achievement and professional recognition, thus frames a question of increasing concern to all thoughtful men in the mid-twentieth century. The answer which Dr. Williams provides in *You Are Extraordinary* is reassuring: "If you are concerned about the real and lasting significance of individuals, if it all seems hopeless and you are pessimistic about the 'inevitable trend' toward doing away with individuals, I have good news for you from the scientific front. There is now abundant evidence – I have assem-

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bled a conclusive assortment in this book – that on our arrival as newborn babies each of us brings along a host of highly distinctive inborn characteristics. This raises us to such a level that we as individuals cannot be averaged with other people. Inborn individuality is a highly significant factor in all our lives – as inescapable as the fact that we are human. Individuality can never be obliterated."

Our Distinctive Minds

You Are Extraordinary is not only heartening news for those who value the individual; it is also fascinating reading. In terms comprehensible to any layman, the author brings to light a wealth of information and speculation concerning the rare and widely differing facets displayed by individual human beings. "If normal facial features varied as much as gastric juices do, some of our noses would be about the size of navy beans while others would be the size of twenty-pound watermelons." The reader is taken on a tour of human physiology to demonstrate how different from our fellows each of us actually is. These tremendous physiological differences, the author goes on to show, still are small when compared with the most important phase of individuality: the highly distinctive mind each of us possesses.

Dr. Williams approaches the subject of the individual's mind in a variety of ways. His chapter on the differences among individual nervous systems is not only an excellent demonstration of his thesis but is a highly interesting collection of scientific information concerning what makes you and me tick. In addition to his neurological evidence, the author also stresses the wide differences in personal preference displayed by individuals in virtually every aspect of their lives. He takes time to give graphic examples concerning the varying amounts and patterns of sleep, exercise, and sport required by individuals.

One of the most penetrating of the author's demonstrations of individual difference is the connection which he makes between sensory perception and the interpretation of that sensory information made by the individual's brain. Dr. Williams emphasizes that not only do our senses provide us with different information from individual to individual, but that the really distinctive part of human perception lies in the widely varying interpretation which the individual's brain places upon the sensory information which it receives.

You Are Extraordinary makes hash of the "statistical average" approach to the "Science of Man." He points out that all too much of

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modern social thought is premised upon an "average" man who in fact has never existed. Why do social sciences persist in generalizing about "man," when in fact only men, only individuals, make up society? Dr. Williams has a devastating answer: "One of the underlying reasons why 'man' is of great interest to academic people – more so than to those who deal in a more practical way with people – is the desire to develop *generalizations*. This, to many, is the equivalent of developing a science. Students of society have tended to envy the physical, chemical, and biological sciences because of the marvelous progress that has been made in these areas. These sciences have been eminently successful in establishing generalizations; it is but natural that social science should emulate them, and try also to develop generalizations. What generalization could be more attractive as a starter than '*All men are alike.*' It *seems* to be in line with the Declaration of Independence, and to foster brotherhood."

A Scientific View of Man

In the mistaken attempt to make the social sciences more "scientific," concepts of heredity and individuality have been excluded. Now, at last, a distinguished scientist himself comes forward to point out that attempts to divorce individual difference from the study of man have been hopelessly unscientific, since the findings of modern science actually indicate the widest possible individual differences among men. Removing the reins of control from the hands of the social planner, Dr. Williams poses the question of social progress in truly meaningful terms: "Each of us is born with distinctive equipment – more equipment than we learn to use. Each of us has the responsibility of living his own life, and making the best use of the equipment he has. Everyone can accept as a challenge his own individuality and the freedom with which he is endowed. With what we have, how can we do the most?"

How indeed can man "do the most"? The author of *You Are Extraordinary* insists that men can hope to understand their society only as they come to understand the real people who make it up. He indicts modern education for attempting to train people in uniform patterns, frequently with irreparable damage to the individual and a loss to society of that individual's productive and creative capacity. He indicts the *group* approach to human beings as one of the great barriers to improved race relations, making the excellent point that a man cannot be viewed as an individual unless he

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is considered apart from the attributes of race.

The Individual in Society

In area after area of what are today regarded as "social problems," Dr. Williams directs a penetrating analysis which emphasizes the importance of the individual if society is to function: "The need that society has for individuals is most real; it encompasses every part of life and will continue as long as society lasts. There are thousands of kinds of day-to-day jobs as well as more inspiring ones that need to be done, and a multitude of special gifts must be possessed by individuals if these jobs are to be done well. . . ."

You Are Extraordinary thus stresses both the physiological and psychological importance of the concept of individuality and speculates upon the revolutionary impact of such a new scientific doctrine for virtually all fields of human endeavor. Dr. Williams insists that these ideas will revolutionize psychology, philosophy, and most other disciplines touching upon social organization. He holds forth the exciting promise that great vistas of further discoveries still lie ahead, once men fully appreciate that the study of the *individual* is the proper key, the only key, to a meaningful study of mankind and its problems.

No prisoner of scientism, Dr. Williams calls for an *enlargement* of science to deal with "beauty, love, and religious worship." As a scientist, the author barely enters the area of political economy. He does, however, point the way for a scientific view of the individual which will add a new and vital dimension to the political, economic, and moral case for freedom ◈

▸ THE GLORIOUS QUEST, by James R. Evans (Chicago, Chas. Hallberg & Co., 1967), 127 pp., $4.95.

Reviewed by Norman S. Ream

WHEN a city fire department held a disaster drill, which included evacuating a large office building, the fire chief was asked about the results. He replied, "We emptied the place in six minutes. We thought that was pretty good, but at five o'clock when the quitting bell rang everyone got out in three minutes."

Freedom versus coercion! Illustrations of how the former outproduces the latter are available on all sides, but innumerable people who assent to the idea with their lips continually deny it with their deeds. That, of course, is why we must continually use reason, persuasion, and example to make our case.

The Glorious Quest offers us

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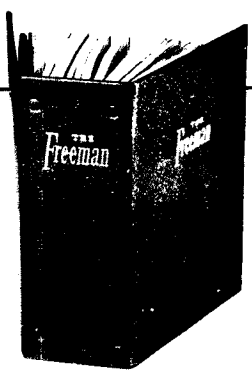
seven principles by which to judge an economic system. These principles are aimed at measuring every idea on the basis of whether it encourages the utilization of free creative human energy.

Ideas, even false ideas, as Richard Weaver pointed out some years ago, do have consequences; and the ideas which encourage men to display the highest standards of moral and ethical behavior are those ideas which create an environment demanding individual responsibility. *The Glorious Quest* is a living commentary on what ideas can do. The author, a young businessman, was himself captivated by ideas shared with him by another young businessman. Those ideas led him into a vast reading program which finally culminated in the present book.

Here is an excellent introduction to the free enterprise philosophy based on sound fundamental ideas drawn from many sources. Radio commentator Paul Harvey has suggested that the seven principles laid down in the book provide an excellent standard against which every aspiring politician and lawmaker should measure himself. Beyond that, however, they provide a measurement by which each citizen can measure his own political and social ideas. ◈



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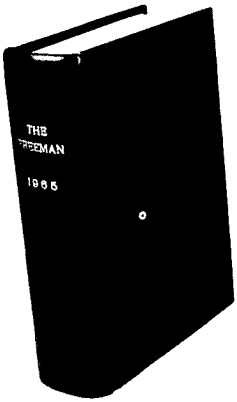

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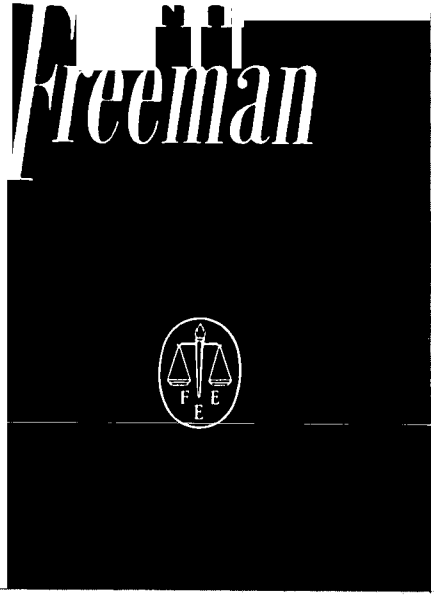

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